# Chapter 10
# The Urban Development of Ṣan'ā'

## Introduction

Archaeological excavation in Ṣan'ā' has not, so far, been possible. Its urban growth can therefore be conjectured from the not infrequently equivocal literary evidence, the few inscriptions known to refer to the city and the sparse assistance provided by excavations for foundations, pipes and cables. Among other kinds of evidence are topography, street pattern, type of house, level of streets etc. Dr Lewcock was permitted a brief visit to the citadel (Qaṣr al-Silāḥ) but only a thorough examination of it from the inside might help towards establishing its architectural history. This is a serious gap in our researches on Ṣan'ā'. For these reasons our suggestions are tentative and open to modification should fresh evidence become available.

The pre-Islamic inscriptions are discussed by Professor Beeston in an earlier chapter. To recapitulate his findings, Ṣan'ā', by some time in the 3rd century A.D. was a *maḥram*[1] and a military headquarters of the Sabaean state as well. Bayt Silḥīn and Ghumdān enjoyed 'an equality of status as royal dynastic centres' at Ma'rib and Ṣan'ā' respectively. With these centres were associated Ilīsharaḥ Yaḥḍab and his brother Ya'zal Bayyin (Ya'zal is derived from the same root as Azāl which Arabic sources claim was the ancient name of Ṣan'ā'). The location of the site of Ghumdān is the *point de départ* in discussing the early growth of Ṣan'ā' since it is the one place that can, with some degree of certainty, be identified.

## The Literary Evidence

### *Ghumdān*

No topographical details seem to figure in Arabic writing on Ṣan'ā' (at least in those authors consulted) before the first half of the third century. On the other hand, although there is an accretion of legend, certain details of these accounts are confirmed from the inscriptions, and third century writers drew on earlier sources and in all probability on a living tradition.

The first Arabic author to describe Ṣan'ā' with some degree of precision is the geographer Ibn Rustah,[2] writing in Iṣfahān not earlier than 290/903 but presumably drawing on earlier sources. He speaks of the fortress (*qal'ah*) called Ghumdān close to the Jāmi' Mosque, built on a rock foundation.[3] Inside this fortress is the well of Sām b. Nūḥ (Shem son of Noah)—this is to be understood as meaning simply that it was traditionally the oldest well in the city. Ḥusayn al-'Amrī identifies it as the well existing today on the eastern side of the Jāmi' at the shops (*ḥawānīt*) lying east of it.[4] Al-Rāzī says it is under Ghumdān, opposite the first door of the Ṣan'ā' Mosque and is called Karāmah; it is used for drinking but is brackish.[5]

Al-Hamdānī writing probably a little later than Ibn Rustah, but, it must be assumed, with access to more and very likely better written sources and direct oral tradition, states that the first and oldest of the castles (*maḥāfid* and *quṣūr*) is Ghumdān;[6] then follow others, including Silḥīn. He quotes the pre-Islamic poet 'Alqamah as speaking of both Ghumdān and Silḥīn as ruins,[7] but Ghumdān, in the Islamic period alone, was fairly frequently destroyed and subsequently rebuilt. 'Of the ancient side (*khadd*)[8] of Ghumdān there remains a section/field of amazing, tangled (*mutalāḥik*)[9] ruin opposite the first and second of the eastern doors of the Jāmi'.[10] The rest of Ghumdān is a great *tell*[11] like a mountain and much of what is around it is of the dwellings of the Ṣan'ānīs. Of it is a house/room (*bayt*),[12] and on its *tell* Ibn Faḍl al-Qarmaṭī fortified himself when he entered Ṣan'ā' and he came to the Mosque, took possession of Ṣan'ā' and fell upon its ruler (*sulṭān*) and inhabitants.'[13] A verse of al-Hamdānī (the author)[14] might be considered as referring to a supply of water of the *ghayl* type, if in fact it refers to Ghumdān of Ṣan'ā'. 'Its waters, their channels murmur, a flowing source drinking at which never fails

1 *Maḥram* can also mean a sacred enclave. Cf. pp. 37a, 39b, 40b.
2 *Kitāb al-A'lāq al-nafisah, Liber viarum et regnorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *BGA*, Leiden, 1892, VII, 109-13. Ibn Rustah is known to have been in Hijaz in 292/903 and probably had access to reliable informants.
3 Cf. al-Rāzī. infra p. 128a. Ibid, 75, says it was built on the rock which is on the base (*aṣl*) of Ghumdān. One version, ibid, 77, says it was built between al-Qal'ah al-Mulamlamah al-Khaḍrā' up to Ghumdān. This rock was also said to be in Zuqāq Banī Thumāmah.
4 Cf. index to Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Rāzī, *Tārikh madinat Ṣan'ā'*, ed. Ḥusayn 'Abdullāh al-'Amrī and 'Abd al-Jabbār Zakkār, Damascus, 1974, 556.
5 Ibid, 17.
6 *Ṣifat Jazirat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden, 1884-91, 203.
7 *Iklīl VIII*, ed. Anastase-Marie al-Kirmilī, Baghdad, n.d., 60. For the destruction of Ghumdān and Silḥīn by the Abyssinians see Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1879-1901, I, II, 28.
8 Ibid, 15. Dozy, *Supplément*, citing from Ibn Khaldūn, gives *khadd* the sense of wall (of a fortress). Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 16, alludes to Ḥarrat Ghumdān as the site upon which Sām b. Nūḥ built. A *ḥarrah* is a stony tract of ground. Perhaps *khadd* is a corrupt reading.
9 Cf. Shams al-'ulūm, op. cit., 81, 108, *rukhām talāḥaka laysa fihi min shuqūqi*, marble without cracks.
This word appears in a verse by al-Hamdānī in *Iklīl VIII*, op. cit., 16, referring to the rock in the side (*quṭr*) of Ghumdān.
10 Ibid, 7, if al-Kirmilī's reading be accepted, says, *'Baqiya min ba'ḍ ḥiṭāni-hi 'l-maḥārib al-muqābilah li-abwāb al-Jāmi'.'*
11 A *tell/tall* is a mound, often man-made. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Viae et regna*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *BGA*, Leiden, 1873, II, 31, alludes to the big *tell* in Ṣan'ā' known as Ghumdān.
12 The *bayt* might be a temple, but this statement is obscure.
13 Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, Cairo, 1388/1968, I, 196.
14 *Iklīl VIII*, op. cit., 17.

to satisfy (*wa-miyāhu-hu qanawātu-hā tatahaddaru, yanbū'u 'ayn-in lā yuṣarridu shurbu-hā*).' 'Alqamah b. Dhī Yazan alludes to fields (*jurūb*) lying at the foot of it.[15] The builder of Ghumdān was Abū Sharaḥ b. Yaḥdab who was the king (*malik*) of Ghumdān.[16] One of the Mss. has, correctly, Ilīsharaḥ b. Yaḥdab.

Al-Rāzī[17] (ob. 460/1068), drawing on a chain of Traditionists going back to the first century of the Hijrah, says, 'The first stone laid upon stone in the Yemen was Ghumdān—Sharāḥīl[18] al-Ḥimyarī built it. A thousand years after him Ilī Sharaḥ Yaḥdab built al-Qaṣabah.' Al-Rāzī[19] quotes Tradition that the Prophet ordered Ghumdān to be demolished; or this took place in the days of Abū Bakr or 'Uthmān. He adds, 'It is said that the generality (*'āmmah*) of the construction of the Qaṣabah of Ṣan'ā' was constructed with the debris of Ghumdān only.'

The term *qaṣabah* poses a problem. *Tāj al-'Arūs* accords to *qaṣabat al-balad* the senses *al-qaṣr, al-ḥiṣn, al-madīnah, jawf al-ḥiṣn, al-qaryah; qaṣabat al-qaryah* means the middle of it [the *qaryah*]. A further difficulty is that in the northern Yemen a *qaṣabah* means a circular defensible dwelling tower. Al-Hamdānī[20] says, 'The people of the North (*ahl al-Sha'm*) call it Ṣan'ā' al-Qaṣabah.'

Al-Qaṣabah may mean here *al-madīnah/al-qaryah*, the city, but we have come to think that it probably means the lower citadel—now Qaṣr al-Silāḥ, though in the course of its history it would seem to have had several different names. This would explain the name Ṣan'ā' which means 'well fortified', as an epithet or synonym almost of al-Qaṣabah.

In brief, then, both the inscriptional and literary references point to Ghumdān as the original nucleus of the city in approximately the three to four centuries before Islam. Over several centuries of the Islamic era the historians seem to indicate that the Ghumdān site was occasionally fortified, dismantled, and re-fortified.

## *Qaṣr al-Qalīs*

The eastern point of contemporary Ṣan'ā' is formed by a roughly oblong citadel on a foothill, part of the lower slope of Jabal Nuqum, commanding the rest of the city (plate 1), much of the stonework of which is of comparatively recent date. This upper citadel is linked with the lower citadel to the west of a fortified corridor. On each side of the upper portion is a circular tower (*nawbah*), the two serving as bastions incorporated in the fortifications. The stonework of these two towers is of the same type as that of the lower stonework of Bāb al-Sitrān (The Gate of Columns), opening to the south. All are constructed of large hewn stones fitted together with fine joints. It is suggested that they belong to a class of pre-Islamic Sabaean structures, to take a case in point, like certain of those at Dawram/Ṭaybah overlooking Wādī Ḍahr.[21] Bāb al-Sitrān has a well-protected bent gateway—one enters between two outer bastions into a passage to the left from which one has to turn to the right to enter the citadel. Such skewed entry is typical of other ancient cities in south Arabia including the city gates of Ṣa'dah and Naqab al-Hajar (in the latter case first to the right then left).

Al-Hamdānī alludes to al-Qalīs, a descendant of Ilī Sharaḥ, to whom Qaṣr al-Qalīs is attributed, and Nashwān b. Sa'īd[22] (ob. 573/1117) states that al-Qalīs was a *qaṣr* in Ṣan'ā' which belonged to the kings of Ḥimyar—then Abrahah al-Ḥabashī dwelt there after that. Two Islamic histories[23] contain a poem on a medieval battle at Qaṣr al-Qalīs which Mudrik b. Ḥātim won over the Zaydīs about the end of the first quarter of the 7th/13th century. In commenting on the verses of Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Radā'ī (which he took down from one of the Abnā'), al-Hamdānī[24] states that Ghumdān and al-Qalīs are two fortresses (*maḥfid*) in Ṣan'ā'. The verse itself says that Tubba' and Bilqīs built them, but al-Hamdānī quotes a variant that Yaḥdib Shar(a)ḥ and Bilqīs built them.

It is strange that al-Hamdānī (in such of his writings as are extant) does not comment on Qalīs the eponym, and Qalīs Abrahah's church. The explanation that suggests itself for the conundrum of Qalīs = church and fort, is that the eastern fortification was known by, say, 250 H., or even before Islam, possibly some time after Abrahah (ob. 569-70 A.D.) constructed his church, as Qaṣr al-Qalīs in order to distinguish it from Qaṣr Ghumdān. Qalīs as a person has every appearance of being purely legendary. The existence of the eastern Qaṣr as a pre-Islamic fortification, though of lesser fame than Ghumdān, then, is credited by Yemenis of the 3rd/9th century.

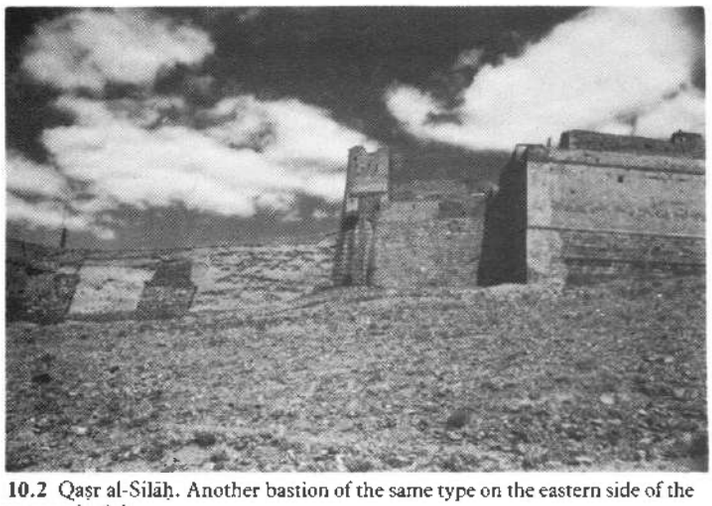
A verse of Tha'labah b. 'Amr[25] would appear to refer to the garrisoning of Ghumdān also, by the Abyssinian invaders:

> Were I in Ghumdān, there guarding its gate
> Men of the Abyssinians and a snake, familiar.[26]

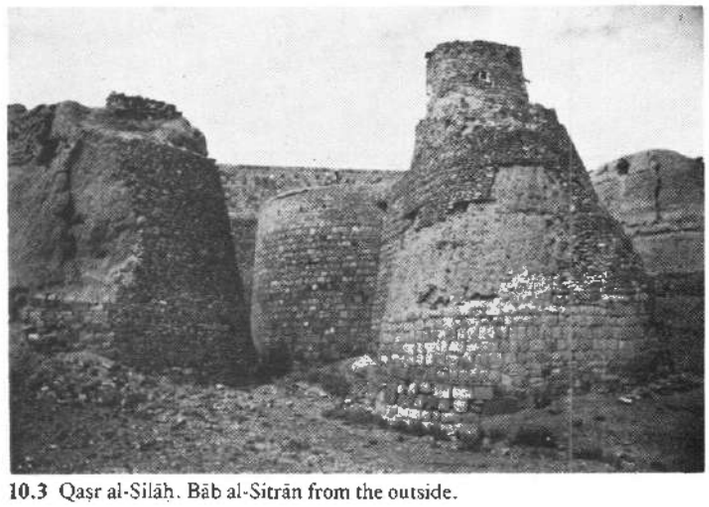
The Jabbānah north of Ṣan'ā' wall is stated[27] to have been built on the site of the camp of the Abyssinians on a field (*jirbah*) which had come into the possession of an Abnā' family. It is then evident from the Arabic sources that these points were garrisoned by the Abyssinians, the two fortresses and an advanced outpost to defend Ṣan'ā' from attacks from the north. All three would be taken over by the Persian Abnā'. When the Yemeni prophet al-Aswad al-'Ansī who had occupied Ṣan'ā' in opposition to the Abnā' and other supporters of Muḥammad, was assassinated there in 11/632 there was, according to al-Balādhurī,[28] a town wall (*sūr al-madīnah*). The murderers entered al-Aswad's house by an irrigation channel (*jadwal*) according to some traditions—this immediately calls to mind the likelihood that it would be a *qanāt/ghayl*.

15 Ibid, 19. Al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., I, II, 928-29, attributes a similar verse to Dhū Jadan al-Ḥimyarī.
16 Ibid, 24.
17 Op. cit., 20.
18 Sharāḥīl is of course the same as Ilī Sharaḥ which latter is written as two words by al-Rāzī. A verse in *Iklīl VIII*, 17, has Dhū Sharaḥ.
*Iklīl II*, 86, states that in a *musnad*, or Ḥimyar inscription, of Nā'iṭ is recorded that 'Amr Yan'ar Dhū Ghumdān a descendant of Ilī Sharaḥ was the first to begin the *tashyīd* (building finely and strongly and rising high) of Ghumdān after its ancient construction.
19 Ibid, 216, 218. He mentions (p. 203) talismans which were on 'the first/ancient Gate of Ṣan'ā' (*Bāb madīnat Ṣan'ā' al-awwal*) in the place known as al-Qaṣabah.'
20 *Ṣifah*, 55.
21 Cf. P. M. Costa, 'La Moschea Grande di Ṣan'ā'', *Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, Naples, 1974, XXXIV, 487-506
22 *Iklīl II*, 86-7, *Die auf Südarabien Bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's in Šams al-'ulūm*, ed. 'Azimuddīn Aḥmad, *GMS*, XXIV, Leyden-London, 1916, 88.
23 Muḥammad b. Ḥātim al-Yāmī al-Hamdānī, *al-Simṭ al-ghālī*, ed. G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and the early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, *GMS* n.s., XXVI, London, 1974-78, I, 188, and al-Khazrajī, *The Pearl-strings* (*al-'Uqūd al-lu'lu'iyyah*), ed. Muḥammad 'Asal, *GMS*,III, IV, Leiden-London, 1906-18, 38.
24 *Ṣifah*, 240.
25 Al-Mufaḍḍal, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. C. J. Lyall, Oxford, 1921, 563.
26 So the commentary—perhaps alluding to talismans or even the popular belief of a guardian snake, but it could be rendered, 'a friendly black (*aswad*)'.
27 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 90, 210.
28 *Futūḥ al-buldān; Liber expugnationis regionum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1870, 106.

**10.1** Qaṣr al-Silāḥ, the citadel on the east of Ṣān'ā'. The highest point of the Qaṣr is at the top of the picture. A narrow linking passsageway runs down to the lower section of the Qasr at the bottom of the photograph.



**10.2** Qaṣr al-Silāḥ. Another bastion of the same type on the eastern side of the upper citadel.

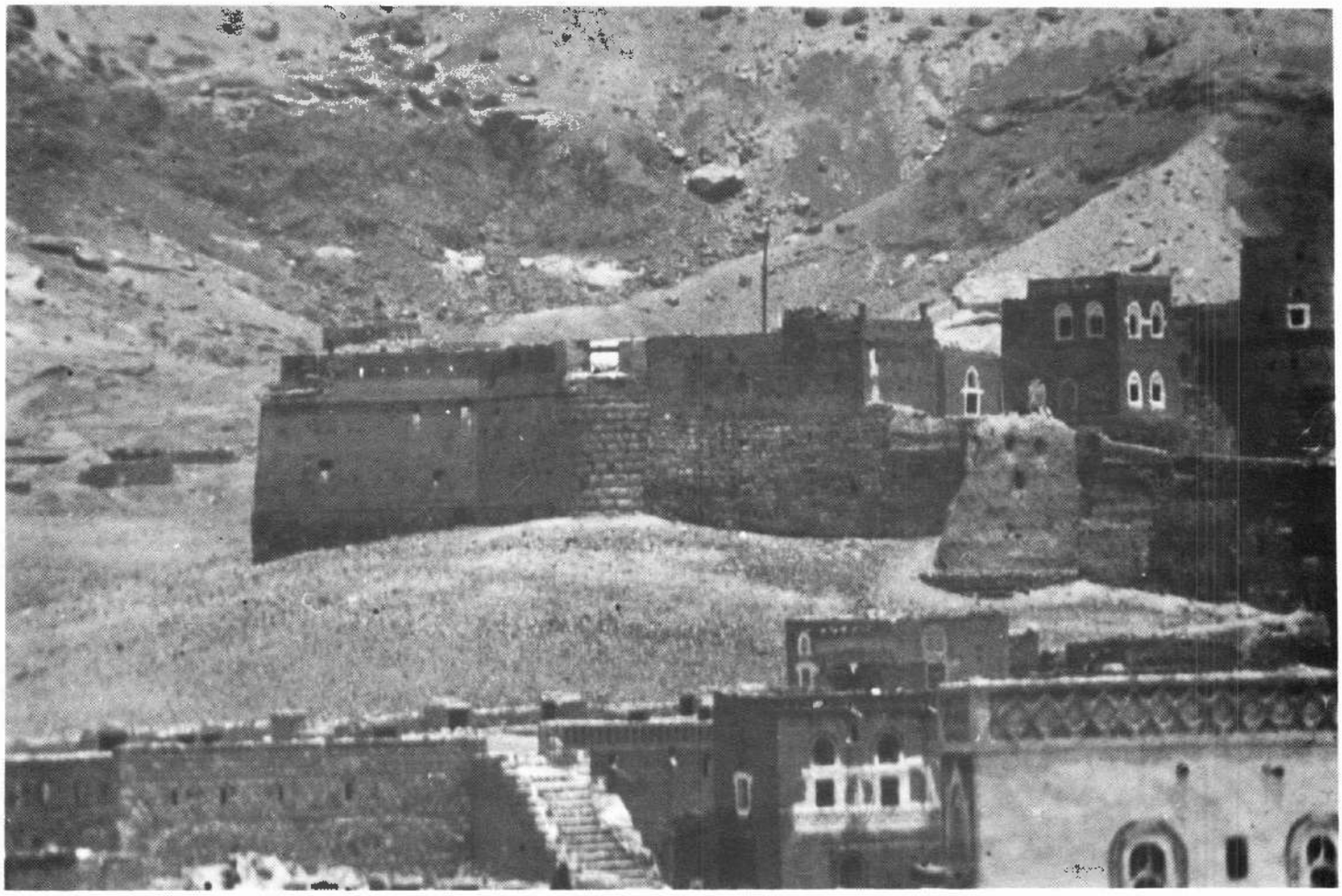


**10.3** Qaṣr al-Silāḥ. Bāb al-Sitrān from the outside.

## *The Districts al-Qaṭī' and al-Sirār*

By the 3rd/9th century Ṣan'ā' was divided into two districts, seemingly controlled by the Abnā', of Persian origin, in the east and by the Arab Banū Shihāb in the west. These are known as al-Qaṭī' and al-Sirār respectively, the names persisting to the present day though oddly enough they are not used by al-Hamdānī. The latter[29] tells us that 'the origin of those of the Banū Shihāb who settled in Ṣan'ā' and in the East (Mashriq)[30] of it (Ṣan'ā') is from Ṣa'dah. They went to the Āl Dhī Yazan to aid and support them, and Ḥimyar gave them as fief (*aqṭa'athum*, or "assigned them" ?) those fertile lands they have at Azāl (Ṣan'ā') and what is around it, of which are Bayt Sibṭān/Sabaṭān with its river (*nahr*, perhaps a *ghayl*?) and farms (*ḍiyā'*).' The *nahr* was a permanent stream. He adds that they possess most of Ḥaql Ṣan'ā',[31] including Maydān 'Abbād b. al-Ghamr[32] and other

29 *Iklīl I*, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwa', Cairo, 1963, 413.
30 The Mashriq is the area approximately east of a line drawn from Ṣan'ā' to Ṣa'dah. Al-Akwa' says it is Khawlān al-'Āliyah and part of Sinḥān.
31 Ḥaql Ṣan'ā' is said to be the Bīr al-'Azab area.
32 'Abbād b. al-Ghamr al-Shihābī was contemporary with the 'Abbāsid governor, Ibn Barmak—cf. *Iklīl I*, op. cit., 414 seq.



**10.4** Qaṣr al-Silāḥ, seen across the rooftops of the city. The central bastion, which is actually a complete circular construction, is composed of giant boulders cleverly fitted together in a kind of stonework which is as ancient as any in the city. It almost certainly predates the 5th/11th century.

places. The Banū Shihāb, one can only suggest, would have supported Sayf b. Dhī Yazan whose military camp (*mu'askar*) and dwelling, according to Ibn Khurdādhbah,[33] was Ghumdān, and they were rewarded in this way. Sayf defeated the Abyssinians in 575 A.D.

A *sarār* is the wadi-bottom and best part of it and good fertile ground (*baṭn al-wādī wa-aṭyabu-hu wa-mā ṭāba min al-arḍ wa-karuma*).[34] This description fits exactly al-Sirār of Ṣan'ā' and it would be natural for farming tribesmen to be settled there.

Al-Qaṭī', although it seems to have no known accepted meaning, is reminiscent of *qaṭī'ah*, land subject to *kharāj*-tax which the ruler gives as fief.[35] Speculative as it is, one is tempted to suggest that the district might have been a settlement assigned to the Persian Abnā' when they came to the aid of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan.[36] It is said to be of the high part (*'ulw*) of Ṣan'ā' at the Qaṣr and from near Bāb al-Yaman northwards, whereas al-Sirār is the *sifl* or low-lying part of the city.[37] Bādhān is stated to have accepted Islam in 628 A.D. Perhaps by this time the Banū Shihāb had already developed al-Sirār to some extent, but held no strongly fortified places there comparable with Ghumdān and the Qalīs. About the mid 4th/10th century al-Qaṭī' was stated to be a quarter (*rub'*)[38] of Ṣan'ā'.

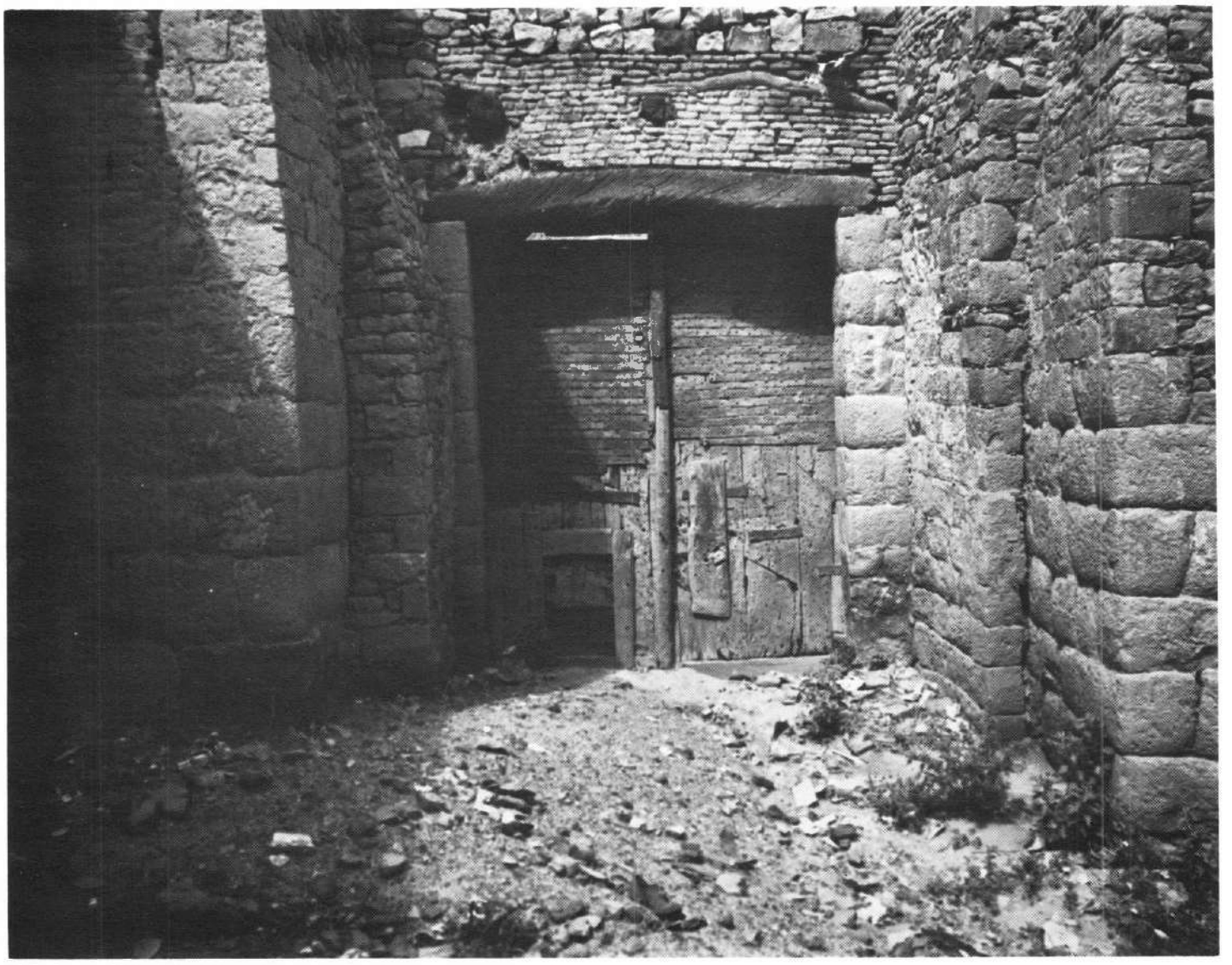
It is possibly to be envisaged that, under the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid governors, Ghumdān and the Jāmi' Mosque were, perhaps with other buildings, distinct from either district, and neutral ground in the wars between the people of al-Qaṭī' and al-Sirār in which the merchants (*tujjār*) and non-arms-bearing inhabitants (*ḍu'afā'*) of Ṣan'ā' 'suffered detriment'.[39]

The Shihābīs of Rub' Banī Shihāb,[40] though once friendly with the Abnā', fell out with them, and on one occasion even fled from their side (*shiqq*) of Ṣan'ā', but they must have recovered since one of the Banū Shihāb was governor in 218/833.[41]

The poet and leading man of the Shihābīs, 'Abd al-Khāliq . . . b. Muḥammad al-Jawhar, who invited Muḥammad b. Yu'fir to help the Shihābīs against the Abnā' about the mid-3rd/9th century, calls the Abnā' slaves (*'abīd*) of the (pre-Islamic) *qayl*, Dhū Yazan[42]—which they certainly were not, and also the low persons (*safalah*) of Fāris.[43] In other verses he says of them,[44]

> Full well I know that they were born
> But to buy and sell merchandise,
> To [work] at [sesame]-oil presses, butcheries and tanneries.[45]

33 *Kitāb al-masālik wa-'l-mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *BGA*, Leyden, 1889, VI, 136. He wrote about 230-34/844-48.
34 *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, article *srr*.
35 Cf. *Tāj al-'arūs*, V, 474, citing the Prophet when he *aqṭa'a 'l-nāsa 'l-dūra*, i.e., accommodated them in the houses of the Anṣār. *Al-Qāmūs*, III, 70, says that *qaṭī'ah* consisted of places (*maḥāll*) in Baghdad which the Caliph al-Manṣūr assigned (*aqṭa'a*) to people to inhabit (*li-ya'marū-hā*). Cf. al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, op. cit., 57, speaking of a poet to whom the 'Abbāsids assigned property in Ṣan'ā' (*iqṭaṭa'ū la-hu amwāl-an*).
36 According to al-Rāzī, op. cit., 413, the house of the Persian Wahb b. Munabbih (latter half of the first century H.) was in al-Qaṭī'.
37 Al-Rāzī, 198, speaks of a Ṣan'ānī, 'the door of whose house (*dār*) in Ṣan'ā' in al-Sirār faces al-Raḥabah', the latter north and slightly to the east of Ṣan'ā'.
38 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 111. One might however read *rab'* in the sense of 'settlement' here as in *Iklīl*, 402, Rab' Banī Shihāb.
39 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 228. For 'detriment', *taḍarrur*, cf. pp.92b, 164a passim.
40 *Al-iklīl I*, 402.
41 Ibid, 372.
42 Ibid, 401.
43 Ibid, 404. Al-Radā'ī (Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 241) speaks of Qaḥṭān and al-aḥrār min Sāsān, the free men of Sāsān, i.e. the Abnā'.
44 Ibid, 381. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 58, mentions another Ṣan'ānī poet who used to satirize *al-sūqah wa-'l-suqqāṭ*, the subjects (perhaps here, *pace* Lane, the people of the sūq) and of low standing.
45 *Ma'āṣir wa-majāzir wa-madābigh*.



10.5 Qaṣr al-Silāh. Bāb al-Sitrān from directly in front. The stonework of this gateway is of the same type as the two bastions in plates 10.1 and 10.4 above.

That annoy their neighbour, and to weave *mulā'ahs*.[46]

From these lines it is clear that by this time the Ṣan'ānīs who called themselves Abnā' were traders and craftsmen in the Market and possibly tanners along the banks of the Sā'ilah, as Ibn Rustah describes. Since 'Abd al-Khāliq, with true tribal hauteur, despises trade and handicrafts, it may be that the Shihābīs still continued as tribal farmers as opposed to the Abnā' burghers. Whether the Market was considered part of al-Qaṭī', or was directly under protection of the current rulers at Ghumdān, we have no indication.[47]

At this point it is appropriate to introduce Ibn Rustah's account of Ṣan'ā' which can be taken as applying to the latter half of the 3rd/9th century.

# Ibn Rustah's Description of the City of Ṣan'ā'

It is the city of the Yemen—there not being found in the (highland) Yemen, or the Tihāmah or the Hijaz, a city greater, more populous or prosperous, of nobler origin or more delicious food than it. It is an inland highland city with a temperate climate; throughout the year the fragrance of its air is spring-like (*rabī'ī*), being temperate and good. The same bedding is laid out in a room (*makān*) and is not moved from that room for years on end because of either heat or cold.

Wheat (*ḥinṭah*) with them ripens twice a year, barley and rice[48] thrice or (even) four times. Some of their fruits and grapes also ripen twice a year.

Ṣan'ā' is, then, a populous city, with fine dwellings, some above others, but most of them are decorated (*muzawwaqah*) with plaster (*juṣṣ*), burned brick (*ājurr*) and dressed stones. Some have their foundations (*asās*) of plaster and burned brick and the rest of fine dressed stones; some have a ground-floor (*arḍī*) constructed of plaster and burned brick, some with plaster [only]. Most of their roofs are covered with pebbles (*ḥaṣā*)[49] because of its abundant rains.

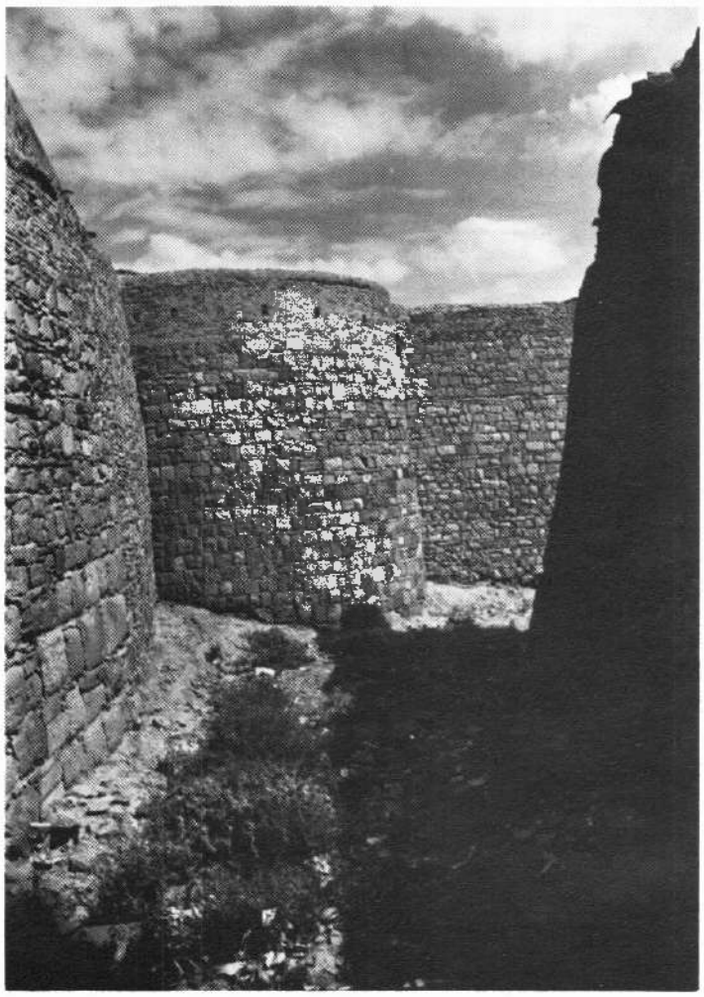
Its rains fall at predictable times—of this they have prognostications in which they never err. During the summer (*ṣayf*) months they have rains for one month, and from autumn

46 Pl. *mulā'*, defined by Lane as two oblong pieces of cloth sewn together to cover the body—just as indeed one may see today in south Arabia.

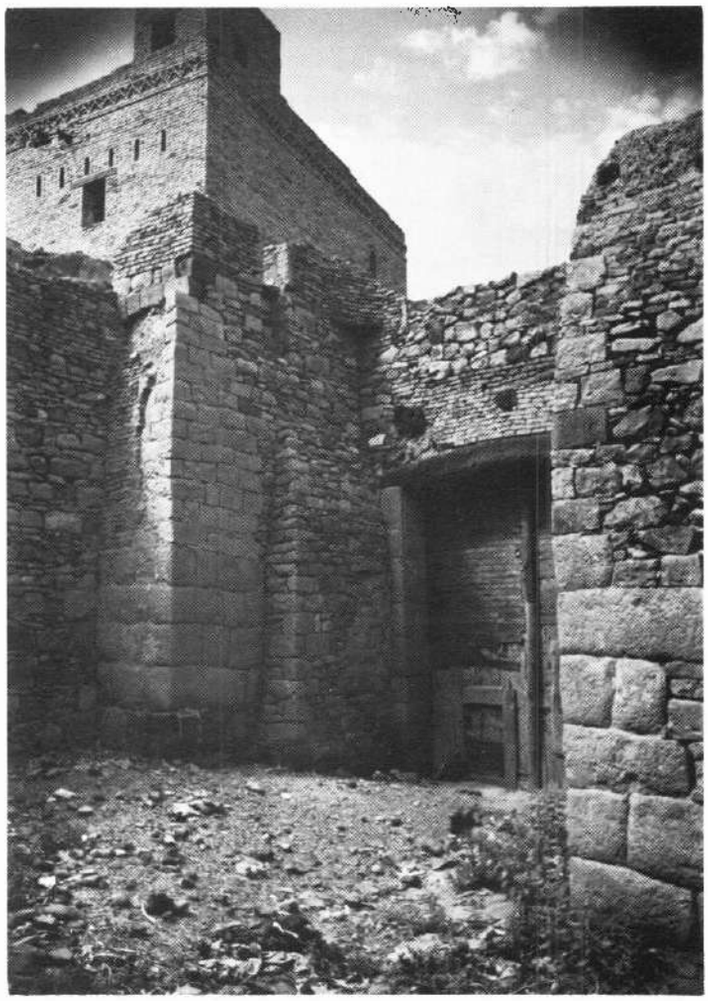
47 Aḥmad Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn, *al-Yaman 'abr al-tārikh*, Cairo, 1382/1963, 209, maintains that Ḥārat al-Sirār is in the middle of Ṣan'ā' and used to include the Dāwūd, Fīlayḥī and Abhar Quarters, but he does not include the Sūq Quarter in it.

48 It is unlikely that rice was ever cultivated in Ṣan'ā'. It is sown in Ḥarāz, Bura' and al-Liḥb according to *Bughyat al-fallāḥin* ('The cultivation of cereals in mediaeval Yemen', *Arabian Studies*, Cambridge-London, 1974, I, 53).

49 Clearly a reference to *qadād*, cf. p. 479b seq.



**10.6** Qaṣr al-Silāḥ. Bāb al-Sitrān. The long passage which forms a sheltered entrance to the gateway.

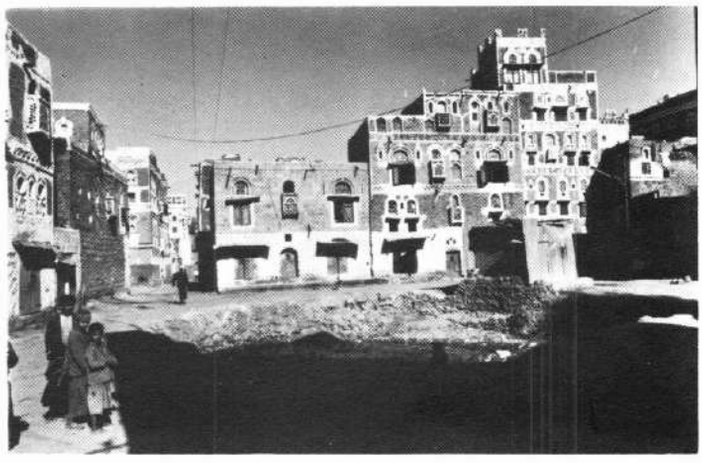


**10.7** Qaṣr al-Silāḥ. Bāb al-Sitrān. Seen from the angle as one approaches the gate down the passageway.

(*kharīf*)[50] a full four months; the rains with them then cease and they have no rain at all until the corresponding time of the next year. During their rainy season their rain usually begins a little after the *'aṣr* (late afternoon). It is possible for the sky to be quite clear and for no sign of rain to be seen, yet people urge one another to hurry up and finish their work for fear of the (impending) rain. As they finish their work the clouds begin to build up and they have rain, most of it from the *'aṣr* to sunset. The flood (*sayl*) scours away all the dust (*qidhā*) in it and washes that entire district. That water runs to their fields (*mazāri'*) in channels they have already made for that purpose, so that not a drop of these waters goes to waste.

In ancient times the [Ṣan'ānīs] had no wall (*sūr*),[51] but one was introduced after the rebellion (*fitnah*) of Ibn Yu'fir,[52] their king.

Their town has a street (*shāri'*)[53] splitting it into two halves and penetrating through to a wadi in which the floods (*suyūl*) flow on the days of rain, as broad as, or somewhat less, than the Tigris, it being called al-Sirār[54]—on both of its banks are establishments (*quṣūr*)[55] built of plaster, burned brick and stone—most of these establishments belong to the tanners (*dabbāgh*)—the entrance to the alleys (*ziqqah*) of the town also opens out onto it. Its market is in an area (*nāḥiyah*) close to the north side of it (*qiblat-hā*)[56] and part of this street. Each of its (of Ṣan'ā' or its



**10.8** Al-Qalīs. A large circular hole in the ground lined with coarse rubble stonework is all that remains of the lower level of the walls of the domed eastern section.

Sūq?) lanes has two entrances/means of access (*bābān*,[57] lit. two doors), one opening on to this street (splitting the town into two) and the other to the town wall (*sūr al-balad*).

Its Jāmi' Mosque in the vicinity of its wall is constructed of

50 Unless there has been a drastic change in the weather there is certainly little or no rain in Kharīf (23 September to 22 December).

51 See infra p. 129a-b. The *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, trans. V. Minorsky, London, 1937, written in 372/982, 147, says, '(The town) has a stone wall.'

52 Yu'fir rebelled in 247/861 and made himself master of Ṣan'ā'. His son Muḥammad was recognized by the 'Abbāsid Caliph as governor of Ṣan'ā' in 259/873.

53 The street would be that which runs from about Sūq al-Ḥalaqah to the present day bridge across the Sā'ilah. Is it to be identified with Sikkat al-Shihābiyyīn of *Sīrat al-Hādī*, 390 (cf. n. 97)?

54 Ibn Khurdādhbah, op. cit., 136, writing about 250/864 says, 'Ṣan'ā''s wadi splits it (reading *yashuqqu-hā* for *yashtaqqu-hā*), flowing when the rain comes in the months of summer (*ṣayf*) and pouring into Saywān so that becomes like a lake (*buḥayrah*).' Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī informs me that at one time great pools used to form when there were heavy floods, at the Sharārah area. For Saywān some writers read Sinwān.

55 Dozy, *Supplément*, *qaṣr* = *salle, cenaculum, pavilion*, etc.

56 Assuming the Ṣan'ā' Sūq stands today more or less where it was in Ibn Rustah's time this places much of the north of present-day walled Ṣan'ā' outside the 3rd/9th century northern wall.

57 It is suggested that as old Ṣan'ā' today has no doors or gates to lanes in the Sūq, that *bāb* does not have the sense of gate in this context.

stone and plaster. It is a large mosque and the *fuqahā'* of that district mention that this mosque was built by command of the Apostle of God during his life-time, and that, on the site of the *miḥrāb* (prayer-niche), is the grave of one of the prophets[58] which used to be venerated in times past before the construction of the Mosque for that reason, and that one of the Companions of the Prophet was in charge of the construction of it. Facing al-Masjid al-Jāmi', and about ten cubits (*dhirā'*) from it, in proximity to it is a fortress (*qal'ah*) the foundation of which is of rock,[59] it being known as Ghumdān, the seat of the Tubba's. Sām b. Nūḥ (Shem son of Noah) built it, and their *fuqahā'* mention that it was the first building to be built after the Flood, its elevation (*samk*) being extremely high. Most of the area around it has been reduced to rubble and the stones taken from it have been re-used, so that some of them say that the quantity of stone extracted from it rendered it unnecessary to transport stone to that place from elsewhere.[60]

In this fortress is a well from which water is drawn right up to the present day and they say that it is the well of Sām b. Nūḥ There is a second well there, that in which a Muslim was found murdered during the Caliphate of 'Umar. Seven persons took part in killing this man, and 'Umar had them all put to death in retaliation for him. 'Umar declared, 'Were the (whole) population involved[61] [in killing him] I should slay them in retaliation for him.' This is a well-known Tradition which Sa'd b. al-Musayyab[62] and others related on the authority of 'Umar and others about 'Umar. When the place of ascent (*marqā*) that still remain of the building of Ghumdān is ascended the whole of Ṣan'ā' (can) be overlooked.

The Mosque of Ṣan'ā' has twenty-two muezzins all of whom perform the call to prayer each (time of) prayer, one following the other, except in the particular case of the sunset prayer. Then they begin with one voice to pronounce the *iqāmah*[63] while they are walking from the minaret (*manārah*) to the row (*ṣaff*, of those at prayer), and by the time they reach the row they will have completed pronouncing the *iqāmah*.

In each of their dwellings is a well from which drinking water is drawn—the well water is preferred to the water of the running sources[64] they have. One of their *fuqahā'* described how he weighed a little water from their wells against a similar amount of Tigris water and found the well lighter than the Tigris water. Near almost every one of the Ṣan'ā' mosques is a drinking place (*siqāyah*) containing water for the passer-by (*li-'l-sabīl*), a wash-place and place for performing the ritual ablutions (*mutawaḍḍa-n*) (*sic*), each being plastered (*muṣahraj*).[65]

In it is a great arch (*ṭāq*)[66] constructed (*'uqqida*) of stone in the vicinity of the butchers[67]—the people of Ṣan'ā' say that at this place sixteen prophets were slaughtered in ancient times.

Their grain is husked wheat (*ṭa'āmu-hum al-burr al-naqiyy*)[68] and *'alas*[69] which resembles wheat (*ḥinṭah*) except that it is finer than wheat in ears not resembling the ears of wheat. They are enclosed in two husks, one being the husk of what is enclosed in the ear, and the other a husk something like rice-husks. It is hulled of its husk, ground and made into bread, its flavour being found nicer than that of wheaten bread.

They have also choice fruits such as various kinds of apples, *barqūq*, i.e. *mishmish* (apricot), various kinds of peaches (*firsik*), i.e. *khawkh* (peaches), kinds of pear (*ijjāṣ*)[70] not to be found in Khurāsān and many other varieties of pear (*kummathrā*) as well. They have, as they maintain, almost seventy varieties of grapes,[71] and palms in their villages but not in their capital (*qaṣabah*). They have bananas[72] in quantity in every place ripening with them every forty days—their fruit is (then) cut, yet the cropping never ceases! They have also tender beans (*baqillā*),[73] sugar-cane, walnuts, almonds, pistachios, pomegranates, figs, quinces, fine unsweet melons eaten with sugar, cucumbers (*qiththā'*) and various sorts of vegetables. Citrons (*utrujj*)[74] they have, plentiful, large and sweet to taste. They also have sweet smelling herbs (*rayāḥin*), of various kinds, roses, jasmin, narcissus, and varieties of lily (*sawsan*)—sometimes all are found (flowering) at the same time. They also have much honey. Beef (*laḥm al-baqar*) they prefer to the meat of plump sheep (*al-ḍa'n al-samīn*), all being bought at the same price.[75]

From them are imported leather, sandals of unscraped skins (*ni'āl musha''arah*), [76] leather mats, the valuable striped material (*burūd*), cloth of a single colour (*muṣmat*), and cloaks (*ardiyah*),[77] a cloth of *burd* fetching five hundred dinars with them. (They also export) different kinds of bezelstones (*fuṣūṣ*), Baqarānī and Sa'wānī[78] vessels, onyx (*jaz'*), various kinds of beads (*kharaz*) -a bezel stone of Baqarānī can cost one hundred dinars or more. They have a market on its own in which only *mizmār*-flutes are sold—these they tie into bundles and arrange in their shops (*ḥawānīt*). They have many *khāns*[80] and places in which are many people making vessels of onyx and various kinds of beads (*kharaz*).

None of their mosques possesses a courtyard (*raḥabah*) except al-Masjid al-Jāmi'. Their leading men (*wujūh*) are people descended from Sayf b. Dhī Yazan,[81] (men of) the highest rank and nobility, in which they surpass the leading men of the other districts; they are a people (*qawm*) who [in their origins] go back to liberality and generosity/nobility (*karam*).

58 Al-Rāzi, op. cit., 205, seq., names this prophet Ḥanẓalah b. Ṣafwān.
59 This is confirmed by al-Rāzī (p.122b).
60 Perhaps this explains why one sees pre-Islamic pieces of cut stone in the Sūq Quarter.
61 Reading *tamāla'a* with *al-Muwaṭṭa'* for the text's *tamālā*, but the latter is permissible.
62 This Traditionist died at Medina in 93 or 94/711-13. The second well is discussed by al-Rāzī, op. cit., 218.
63 The second call to the Prayer pronounced by the muezzin in the mosque before each of the five Prayers. The second call marks the point at which the Prayer commences.
64 Presumably by sources (*'uyūn*) he means the subterranean *ghayls*.
65 *Muṣahraj* might mean provided with a *ṣihrij* or tank.
66 Al-Ḥajarī, *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, Ṣan'ā', 1361/1942, 66, mentions a ruined mosque, al-Ṭāq, in Ḥāfat al-Washalī. He gives its exact location. It does not seem however to be located in the vicinity of this arch known to Ibn Rustah.
67 See p.131a, and al-Rāzī, op. cit., 27, 180, 203.
68 Cf. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, section 48f and n.377.
69 See 'The cultivation of cereals. . . .', op. cit, 43 sez. It is not much grown now in the north. Nashwān b. Sa'īd, *Shams al-'ulūm*, 75, calls it the noblest of grains, and it is preferred by the kings of Ḥimyar. It is still valued for its flavour.
70 Cf. E. Rossi, 'La stampa nel Yemen', *Oriente moderno*, Roma, 1938, VXIII, 574, for the different application in the Yemen of certain of these names of fruit.
71 E. Rossi, *L'arabo parlato a Ṣan'ā'*, Rome, 1939, 166, names twelve types. Cf. al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, op. cit., 196; Mohammed Hassan, *Qalb al-Yaman*, Baghdad, 1947, 83, forty-one types at Ṣan'ā'; *Bughyat al-fallāḥin*, Cairo Ms., Ms., 95a-b.
72 Ibn Rustah is incorrect here if he is referring to Ṣan'ā', where neither palms nor bananas grow—they grow at lower levels in the mountains and in the Tihāmah.
73 Cf. *Ṣifah*, op. cit., 197.
74 The *utrujj* (mod. *itranj*) is only grown in the upper part of Wādī Ḍahr nowadays. For a type called *kubbār*, see *Ṣifah*, 200.
75 Ibn Rustah seems to be incorrect here unless Ṣan'ānī tastes have completely altered. Mutton is greatly preferred today to beef. Cf. pp.235a, 543a.
76 According to the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, op. cit., 146, Hamdān produces Yemeni shoes for pilgrims (*na'layn-i Yamani-yi mash'ar* (sic)).
77 Probably simply a length of cloth.
78 A full list of the precious stones of the Yemen is supplied by the *Ṣifah*, op. cit., 202, including triangular *Baqarān* bezel stones with a red surface over a vein (*'irq*) of white over a vein of black; a source of it is Jabal Ānis. *Sa'wānī* comes from Wādī Sa'wān close to Ṣan'ā'—it is a black bezel with a vein of white. *Jaz'* is of two kinds, *muwashshā* and *musayyar*, and among the places where it is found are Nuqum, Sa'wān and Ḍahr. Of *jaz'* are manufactured tablets, flat plates, sword-hilts, knife handles, ointment pots and bowls (*alwāḥ wa-ṣafā'iḥ wa-qawā'im suyūf wa-nuṣub sakākīn wa-madāhin wa-qiḥfah*). Most of these would be made in Ṣan'ā'. Silver was found in al-Raḍrāḍ and unworked iron in Nuqum and Ghumdān (sic). Cf. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Geoje, *BGA*, V, Leiden, 1885, 36, for the *'aqīq*, agate, of Ṣan'ā' districts (*makhālif*), exported to Basrah.
79 This is clearly wrong. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī has proposed the solution—Ibn Rustah has been told of bundles of *qaṣab*, millet-stalk—this he has understood as 'pipes, flutes' (sing. *qaṣabah*), a ludicrous error. Millet (sorghum) stalk is in fact sold this way.
80 By *khāns* Ibn Rustah probably means *samsarahs*.
81 Who expelled the Abyssinian invaders with the aid of the Persian Abnā' and Banū Shihāb etc.

Their mutton and beef have a special quality, which is that they do not cook except over hot coals—fuel heats them without cooking them.[82]

Their landed properties are of the most splendid kind with the most abundant fruit and finest state of cultivation. These are of three categories—one of which is rain-land,[83] one drawing its water from springs and one from wells from which water is drawn by camels and oxen, and one, the finest and most highly valued, depends upon water from the dam (*al-sadd*). The dam is a barrier which has been constructed at the mouth of mountains surrounding places near their landed properties. At the lower parts of that dam they have set up outlets (*afwāh*)[84] from which they make the water run in rivers (*anhār*) that they have excavated, to their landed properties.

Before the governorship of Ibn Yu'fir their villages were tithe-land (*'ushriyyah*), but then Ibn Yu'fir, instead of that, assessed them as due to pay two hundred thousand dinars.[85] The people of the town (*balad*) carry out their transactions in *muṭawwaq* dinars and *sudaysī* dirhams, and coppers (*fulūs*). The rate of exchange [86] of the dirham sometimes rises from sixty to a hundred to the dinar, and coppers are twenty-four to a dirham, the weight of each dirham being a sixth of a dirham [weight].[87]

They have large pumpkins (*qar'ah*) each like a large jar sold cut up, by the maund (*mann*)—the bigger they are the tenderer.

Their women are free women (*ḥarā'ir*).[88] The people go about during the day-time to attend to their wants and gather in the salons of the *fuqahā'* and others after the prayer of nightfall (*al-'atamah*) until the time when the drum set up on Ghumdān is beaten. The people of the town hear this, and whoever is found before the sound of the drum out of doors is not intercepted, but anyone found after that is put in prison and punished.

Shī'ism (*tashayyu'*)[89] is the predominant (article of faith) with most of its inhabitants and the rest of the Yemen, and their most frequent of oaths is that they say, 'By the right (*ḥaqq*) of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī.'

Though al-Maqdisī[90] (who wrote in 375/985) actually visited the Yemen he says less about it than Ibn Rustah. 'Ṣan'ā' is the capital city (*qaṣabah*) of the north (*najd*) of the Yemen. It has Mashāyikh the like of whom I have not seen in all the Yemen with regard to presence/appearance and intellect. Moreover it is an ample town (*balad raḥb*) abounding in fruits, with cheap prices, good bread (*akhbāz*) and profitable trades (*tijārāt*), larger than Zabīd.' The port of Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'dah is 'Aththār.

# Fortifications in Ṣan'ā' from the Late 3rd/9th Century

The historical references to the walls and other fortifications in Ṣan'ā' from the late 3rd/9th century are bedevilled by a lack of topographical precision and the ambiguity of certain terms they employ. In the first place when they allude to Ghumdān one cannot be absolutely sure that they mean the traditional site by the Jāmi' Mosque or the eastern fortifications now known as Qaṣr al-Silāḥ. Niebuhr about the 12th/mid-18th century calls the Qaṣr al-Silāḥ by the name Ghamdān (the modern pronunciation, not Ghumdān). It is possible that for some indefinite period before Niebuhr Ṣan'ānīs had come to apply the name Ghamdān to the Qaṣr al-Silāḥ though there is still a living tradition that Ghumdān is applied to the area east of the Jāmi'.

According to al-Rāzī,[91] 'When Ibn Yu'fir pulled up the Qaṣr and uncovered it, he found the construction of its foundation (*asās*) was on a mountain/hill (*jabal*), as I have heard.' Assuming he means Muḥammad b. Yu'fir, recognised by the 'Abbāsids as governor in 259/871-2, who (re)-built Ṣan'ā' wall, the Qaṣr in question should be Ghumdān since Ibn Rustah says Ghumdān was a fortress (*qal'ah*) existing at this time. It could however be the eastern fortified enceinte which now forms part of the present-day Qaṣr al-Silāḥ.

## *Imām al-Hādī's Manoeuvres In and Around Ṣan'ā'*

To Ṣan'ā' city, doubtless much as described by Ibn Rustah, came the first Zaydī Imām, al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq, and the account of his battles[92] there supplies important topographical details though it is not easy to interpret them.

Al-Hādī entered Ṣan'ā' on a Friday in Muḥarram 288/January 901.[93] He proceeded to the Jāmi' Mosque for the Friday Prayer, and while he was so engaged his enemies came from al-Sirr north east of Ṣan'ā'. There was a disturbance at Darb al-Jabbānah—the Quarter(?) of the Jabbānah or Muṣallā north east of the city. (It was founded in the Prophet's time and, later, the 'Abbāsid governors had residences there—it appears to be a separate enclave.) Some soldiers had already come from it against the Darb while al-Hādī was still at the Prayer. Whether this last-named Darb means the walls, a city-quarter or a fort, it is probably to be located at the Qaṭī' Quarter of Upper Ṣan'ā'. Perhaps it was the lower citadel. Fighting broke out near al-Hādī's house but he drove out his opponents and killed some at the Jabbānah. Subsequently a force he despatched against Ghaymān south east of Ṣan'ā' was outflanked and driven back on Jabal Nuqum, but al-Hādī came from Ṣan'ā' to 'Alib and chased away his enemies there.

The enemy returned, camped and massed at the foot (*aṣl*) of Nuqum. Al-Hādī issued forth from Darb al-Qaṭī' and battled with them but was unable to dislodge them from Nuqum. The enemy massed again and entered al-Qaryah from (*min*) Darb al-Qaṭī'. This is probably to be interpreted as an entrance from the south side of the Qaṭī' Wall or Quarter of Ṣan'ā', and penetration to al-Qaryah lying probably on the high ground between the present-day Qaṣr al-Silāḥ and Nuqum mountain, now called Ẓahr al-Ḥimār. Al-Hādī came out to meet the enemy, sent his son to meet them, and despatched a contingent against them from Darb al-Jabbānah, and came out in person, following his son,

82 On account of the height of Ṣan'ā' it is difficult to bring water to a high temperature, and therefore to stew meat.

83 For the text's *a'dhā'* which seems totally corrupt, *a'qār*, rain-lands should probably be read, as in *Ṣifah*, 199.

84 Lane says that *fūhah*, when talking of a rivulet, can mean 'the place of its pouring into a *kiẓāmah*'. He quotes the *Tāj al-'arūs* as giving *kiẓāmah* the sense of a subterranean conduit. This seems appropriate here. *Anhār* is often used in the sense of *ghayl* = *qanāt*.

85 It appears that Ibn Yu'fir substituted the *ḍamān* system of a guaranteed fixed tax for the Islamic tithe.

86 For the *ḍarb* of the text *ṣarf*, change, rate of exchange must certainly be read. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī al-'Alawī, *Sīrat al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut, 1392/1972, 389, speaks of a famine in 292/904-5, 'and the *makkūk* reached a hundred dirhams and forty-eight *dirham-an asdās-an;* the rate of exchange (*ṣarf*) in those days being a hundred and twenty dirhams to the dinar.' For the *makkūk*, a grain measure, see W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden, 1970, 44.

87 Cf. p.304a. *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 147, written in 373/982, make twelve Zabīd dirhams equivalent to one dirham in weight.

88 For free-born men and women, see Irfan Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najrān: new documents*, Brussels, 1971, 53 passim.

89 Al-Maqdisi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm, Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *BGA*. Leiden, 1906, III, 96, says, 'The followers of Abū Ḥanīfah predominate in Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'dah and the Jawāmi' (mosques) are in their hands.' In the Yemen they used the *qirā'at 'Aṣim* then the reading of Ibn 'Amr (of the Qur'ān) throughout the province (*iqlīm*). He says that the Sunnah is in Ṣan'ā', but in the Sawād of Ṣan'ā' there are fanatical Shī'ah (*shurāt ghāliyah*). He calls the 'Alawiyyah (Zaydī Imāms) ruling in Ṣa'dah 'the most just/moderate of the people (*a'dal al-nās*).' *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 203, says that the Shāfi'ī school appeared in the Yemen in the third, or more likely the fourth century of the Hijrah. Al-Hamdānī, *al-Iklīl X*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo, 1368, 66, who is strongly anti-'Alawī, says that Busr b. Arṭāh was sent to the Yemen by Mu'āwiyah. 'He struck off the heads of seventy-two of the Abnā' at Bāb al-Maṣra' and this place was called al-Maṣra' and the Abnā' 'apostatized from Shī'ism (*al-tashayyu'*) from that day to this.'

90 Op. cit., 86.

91 Op. cit., 180. A variant reading for pulled up is *rafa'a*, raised up.

92 *Sīrat al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq* is the source for his manoeuvres.

93 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 178; *Sīrah*, op. cit., 208, is less informative.

from Darb al-Qaṭī'.[94] Darb may here again simply mean Wall or Quarter but it could be a walled fortress that would impede the enemy's penetration into the city. Al-Hādī expelled the enemy from al-Qaryah to seek refuge in Nuqum mountain.

On 'Īd al-Fiṭr while al-Hādī was at the Muṣallā (al-Jabbānah), the enemy raided Ṣan'ā' Gate—no indication is given of which gate.[95] A Yu'firid force advancing from the west reached the Maydān of Ṣan'ā' but was repulsed and al-Hādī returned to Ṣan'ā'.

Yet once more al-Hādī's foes came to Nuqum and entered al-Qaryah. This time al-Hādī despatched one contingent from Darb al-Jabbānah, another from Darb Ibn Zāmard, and himself issuing forth from Darb al-Qaṭī', he expelled them from al-Qaryah. As the poet 'Abd al-Khāliq[96] mentions Zāmard among a list of Persian Abnā' families, the Darb Ibn Zāmard Quarter might perhaps be located on the north side of al-Qaṭī', most likely within the area of the present town or lower citadel of Qaṣr al-Silāḥ.

The Yu'firids now attacked from the west—coming to Maydān Ṣan'ā' they also brought in an army from the area of al-Sirār. To counter them al-Hādī brought out his left wing from Darb al-Qaṭī', came out himself at the head of his forces from Darb Ibn Zāmard, and drove them out into the Qā', the flat open land west of Ṣan'ā'.

Unable to extract money from the townsfolk to pay his soldiers, and himself falling sick, al-Hādī had no choice but to evacuate Ṣan'ā' after courageous attempts to hold it against great odds. It is noteworthy that throughout his military operations there is no allusion to his holding Ghumdān or the Qaṣr al-Silāḥ, unless indeed the Darb of al-Qaṭī' is a fort or walled enceinte. Maydān Ṣan'ā' is probably to be located where it is today, i.e., in front of Qaṣr al-Silāḥ, but it may have been a very much bigger area at that time.

## *Qarmaṭīs, Yu'firids, Ḥātimīs, Ayyūbids and Rasūlids*

When, in 294/907, the Qarmaṭīs entered Ṣan'ā' from the Sikkat al-Shihābiyyīn[97] of al-Sirār Quarter, probably the street Ibn Rustah describes as bisecting the city, they made for Ghumdān and the Jāmi' Mosque. They killed all the Sayyids they found in the Dūr al-'Alawiyyīn, this possibly being a distinct Quarter of the city, and, if so, perhaps in al-Qaṭī'. The Yu'firids re-occupied Ṣan'ā' after the death of 'Alī b. Faḍl al-Qarmaṭī in 303/915.

The geographer al-Mas'ūdī[98] speaks of 'the temple (*? bayt*) Ghumdān which is in Ṣan'ā' city in the land of the Yemen. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk built it in the name of Zuharah (the Planet Venus) and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān destroyed it. In this time of ours, i.e., 332/943-4, it is a ruin which has been demolished and become a mighty *tell*. The wazīr 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Jarrāḥ, when he was exiled to the Yemen [311-12/923-25], built a drinking place (*siqāyah*) in it and excavated a well. I have seen Ghumdān—heaped up ruins (*radm*) and a mighty *tell* the structure of which has fallen in (*irtadam*) and become a mountain of earth as if it always was [so].' He adds that As'ad b. Yu'fir, Lord of Qal'at Kuḥlān, Lord of the Yemen provinces at the present time, thought of re-building Ghumdān but was dissuaded from this.

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk's founding of the temple of al-Zuharah might be dismissed as an Iranian legend grafted on to Yemeni history, but al-Hamdānī does refer to a *bayt* as part of Ghumdān, in whatever way this is to be interpreted.

Historians consulted give no indications regarding Ghumdān until 545/1150-51[99] when the Zaydī Imām's troops and people of al-Sirār came to the Maydān, took the houses of al-Qaṭī' and approached al-Darb which they besieged. The Imām gave a banner to one of his men which he managed to plant on the topmost part of al-Darb whereupon the besieged capitulated. Al-Darb might mean the Qaṭī' Quarter, a wall, or more likely a fort there, but it could, less likely, also mean Ghumdān. Only five years later, in 550/1155-5,[100] the Zaydī Imām re-took Ṣan'ā' from Ḥātim b. Aḥmad, after being forced to leave it, and demolished al-Darb which Ibn Ḥātim had built in Ghumdān. This was a fortified *darb* which he had built like al-Qāhirah in Egypt in that he made it a round wall (*? darb mudawwar*) a spear's length above the ground, dressed with clay (*makhtūm-an bi-'l-ṭīn*) to the top of it—upon which he constructed a wall of four storeys (*? sūr-an 'alā arba'ah suqūf*). He took into this a number of the houses of Ṣan'ā'.

Twenty years later, in 570/1174, 'Alī b. Ḥātim, in apprehension of an attack on Ṣan'ā' by Tūrānshāh the Ayyūbid, commenced to destroy Ṣan'ā' Wall (Darb)[101] and betook himself with his treasure (*khazā'in*) to mount Birāsh. Tūrānshāh however spent only a single day in Ṣan'ā' before hurriedly leaving for the south. When 'Alī b. Ḥātim returned he rejected the advice of the Ṣan'ānīs to re-build the Darb/Sūr, only too well aware that the Ayyūbids would return to the attack. So he ordered that the demolition be completed, the razing (*kand*)[102] of the Khanādiq and the destruction of Ṣan'ā' Wall (Sūr). Again in 584/1187 'Alī b. Ḥātim ordered Ghumdān and the Wall (Sūr) of Ṣan'ā' to be destroyed (they must meanwhile have been re-built) in face of the northward advance of the Ayyūbid Ṭughtakīn.[103]

Only a few years later Ṭughtakīn rebuilt the Ṣan'ā' Wall that 'Alī b. Ḥātim had destroyed,[104] and added to it on the west side, the area from the flood-bed (al-Sā'ilah) to Bāb al-Sabaḥah, bringing within Ṣan'ā' boundaries the garden known after him as Būstan al-Sulṭān,[105] constructing houses and terraces (*ma'ārij*)[106] and leading Ghayl al-Barmakī to it. He built the Sultanic Palace (al-Dār al-Sulṭāniyyah) in Ṣan'ā' within which he set up a *ḥammām* and a pool (*birkah*) from which rose a fountain (*shādhruwān*) and he led runnels (*anhār*) around it. The Dār al-Salṭanah was destroyed about the dates 610-13/1213-17 by the Zaydī Imām[107] when leaving Ṣan'ā', along with the houses of the Ghuzz, but as it occasionally figures in the histories later on it must have been restored.[108]

Ibn al-Mujāwir[109] mentions the great *tell* where Qaṣr Ghumdān had been, adding that on the place of the Qaṣr, Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Rasūl built a *qaṣr* of huge size (*'aẓīm al-haykal*) in 618/1221. *Al-Simṭ al-ghāl*[110] states that the Rasūlid Amīr al-Malik al-Ashraf, later to become monarch, was sent by his father, the ruler al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, to Ṣan'ā' in 684/1285-86 and at the same time he recalled his other son, al-Malik al-Wāthiq Ibrāhīm, who had arrived in Ṣan'ā' the previous year. After campaigning in the north al-Malik al-Ashraf camped at al-Raḥabah[111] from which he 'ascended to the Qaṣr of our Lord al-Malik al-Wāthiq in

94 Ibid, 183.
95 Possibly opening on to the Maydān? The attempt seems to have been to cut him off from the town.
96 *Iklil I*, 401.
97 They were brought in through the efforts of Muhallab al-Shihābī on 'Āshūrā' day.
98 Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or*, ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861-77, II, 55. Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir, Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden, 1951-54, 182, says that al-Mas'ūdī in his book *Murūj al-Dhahab*, mentions that the Qaṣr Ghumdān was brought into good repair (*yu'mar*) a second time, more beautiful than it was at first.
99 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 302.
100 Ibid, I, 311. The description of the fort might seem to fit the Qaṣr al-Silāḥ better than a site in the middle of Ṣan'ā'.
101 Ibid, I, 224. Cf. *al-Simṭ al-ghālī*, 19, where it is called *al-darb alladhī li-'l-madīnah*.
102 This is based on the account in al-Malik al-Ashraf, *Fākihat al-zaman*, Rylands Ar. Ms. 253. *Kanada* means 'to cut'; cf. Persian *kandan*, to raze. Cf. *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 324; *al-Simṭ al-ghālī*, I, 27.
103 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 329. Abū Makhramah, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, ed. O. Löfgren, Uppsala, 1936-50, II, 101, says that he destroyed the Wall of Ṣan'ā' and put it back.
104 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 337.
105 Dār al-Sulṭān was built at Mashāhid Hamdān with stone taken from the Mashāhid (*al-Simṭ al-ghālī*, I, 468).
106 Lit., places of ascent. The sense is unclear.
107 *Al-Simṭ al-ghālī*, I, 168.
108 Ibid, I, 468. The Qaṣr here mentioned must, in the context, be the eastern Qaṣr al-Silāḥ.
109 Op. cit., 181.
110 Op. cit., 554.
111 Al-Raḥabah was obviously a place of assembly or muster from early times.

al-Manẓar (i.e. al-Rawḍah) where he stayed all that day.' The soldiers (*al-'asākir al-manṣūrah*) then came out of Ṣan'ā' and made for the hard/open ground (*al-aṣlāb*)[112] and the troops (*al-junūd*)[113] 'mustered for his entry'. The gates of the town were choked with people come to see the ceremonial entry. 'His entry . . . was by Bāb al-Naṣr (lit. Victory Gate) and when he entered by this gate and faced (*ḥādhā*) the Qaṣr[114] belonging to our Lord al-Malik al-Wāthiq, silk cloth with gold borders was spread for his horse.' He scattered money from the roof (*saṭḥ*) of the Qaṣr to the people and then continued on his way to al-Dār al-Sulṭāniyyah, doubtless passing in procession through the town to Bustān al-Sulṭān.

It is suggested rather tentatively that Bāb al-Naṣr[115] is to be identified with the present-day Bāb al-Sitrān, or possibly with a gate a little to the west of it. This would identify the Qaṣr of al-Malik al-Wāthiq with our present-day Qaṣr al-Silāḥ.

# The Gates of Ṣan'ā'

Three gates of Ṣan'ā' figure in al-Rāzī's history of the city, but it is difficult to be at all precise about their dating or location. Quoting earlier sources he[116] speaks of 'the church (*kanīsah*) of Ṣan'ā' at its Gate which is near/next its [the city's] northern (side)', a little after the time of the Prophet's negotiations with the Abnā' leader Bādhān. This Bāb Madīnat Ṣan'ā' at one time had two snake talismans, one of iron and the other of brass.[117]

The second gate is Bab al-Maṣra'. One of these talismans 'that made of iron, is on the Bāb al-Maṣra' where the blacksmiths (*al-ḥaddādūn*) work today.' If the blacksmiths' street is situated where it is in our own century the Gate would be located north of Sūq al-Ḥalaqah and probably about the northern end of their sūq on the northern border of the market area in general. Elsewhere al-Rāzī[118] says that Maṣra' al-Jazzārīn was built in the age of Sām b. Nūḥ—i.e. long before Islam, but there are various rather legendary traditions about it. He adds, 'It is today the place where oil (*salīṭ*) is sold and the place of the blacksmiths when you want to go down to Sūq al-'Iraqiyyīn, the place of Masjid Ibn Zayd. The cemetery of Ghumdān was where today the blacksmiths in Ṣan'ā' sharpen (*yaḥuddū*).' The editors[119] of al-Rāzī suggest that the ancient Maṣra' al-Jazzarīn is on or near the site of Masjid al-Shahīdayn lying north on the edge of the market complex. All these indications would tend to locate Bāb al-Maṣra' about the northern limit of the city on the road that leads via the Camel Market to Bāb Sha'ūb.

A suitable location for Bāb Ṣan'ā' would then be somewhere on the north east edge of the market complex, perhaps opening onto a much more extensive Maydān than that we know today. An appropriate siting would be on the east side of Sūq al-Milḥ which may have been the open space immediately inside the gate. Was salt brought this way from Ma'rib?

The third gate, Bāb al-Kishwarī[120] had the brass talisman on it. Al-Rāzī says, 'It was known as Darb al-Kashāwir, but is known today as Darb Ibn 'Abbās on the edge of the Sūq of Ibn Mā'iz of the area (*min nāḥiyah*)of al-M dāwir of Ṣan'ā'.' It has not been possible to identify any of these places, or even propose an identification, though *al-Simṭ* mentions al-Madūrah on Nuqum.

The authorities consulted are almost devoid of any reference to the Gates of Ṣan'ā' after the brief allusion to the attack on Bāb Ṣan'ā' in Imām al-Hādī's occupation of the city until 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī (438-59/1047-66), as reported by Ibn al-Mujāwir,[121] walled it round with stone and plaster (*jiṣṣ*) and set seven gates in the wall:

1. Bāb Ghumdān, leading to the Yemen.[122]
2. Bāb Dimashq, leading towards Mecca.
3. Bāb al-Sabaḥah, leading to Maḥallat al-Sabaḥah.[123]
4. Bāb Khandaq al-A'lā, from which the flood (*sayl*) enters.
5. Bāb Khandaq al-Asfal, from which the flood comes out to irrigate the land.
6. Bāb al-Naṣr, leading to Jabal Nuqum and Birāsh.
7. Bāb Shar'ah, leading to Bustān al-Sirr.

Bāb Ghumdān is to be sited somewhere directly north of the present day Bāb al-Yaman but fairly close to it. Bāb Dimashq is obviously the main gate leading to the north, but its location depends on where the line of the northern wall of the city ran in the 5th/11th century. Perhaps it is to be identified with al-Rāzī's Bāb al-Maṣra' and it might be located to the south of the Camel Market (Sūq al-Jimāl) of our own time. Bāb al-Naṣr may possibly be Bāb al-Sitrān. Bāb al-Sabaḥah suggests Bāb al-Sabāḥ on the western side of old Ṣan'ā' that lasted till some time after 1962. The upper and lower Khandaq gates would in all probability be in the openings (*manāshir*) under the walls across the Sā'ilah, but the actual sites of the Khanādiq are unlikely to have been where they were, until they were recently demolished. Bāb Shar'ah is totally uncertain. If it leads to Wādī Sirr it might be plotted somewhere east of Bāb Dimashq. *Shar'ah* is suggestive of *shari'ah*, a way to water.[124]

The first three gates are described as *makhdūmīn*—probably the same word as *makhtūm* (*bi-'l-ṭīn*), dressed with clay, but in this case with *jiṣṣ*, either as a plaster or between the joints of the stone.

In the chronicles for the year 596/1200 the name Bāb Sha'ūb appears for the first time in the sources consulted—probably for Bāb Dimashq. If, as is conceivable, Ibn al-Mujāwir's Bāb Shar'ah is a mis-reading for Bāb Sha'ūb we should have to adjust our proposals to some extent.[125]

Al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., I, 1864, records that the prophet, al-Aswad al-'Ansī, about 11/633, summoned the people and they assembled (*ijtama'ū*) at *Raḥabah min Ṣan'ā'*. Cf. A. F. L. Beeston, 'Warfare in ancient south Arabia (2nd-3rd centuries A.D.)', *Qahtan*, London, 1976, 69, *rḥbt*, parade ground. Al-Malik al-Ashraf arrived at Ṣan'ā' (evidently from the north) on 8 Rabī' I, 686/23 April, 1287 and unloaded (*ḥaṭṭa*) in the Maydān (Hicoichi Yajima, *A chronicle of the Rasūlid dynasty of Yemen*, Tokyo, 1974, 19). This would bring him directly below the eastern Qaṣr.

112 This variant is to be preferred to *al-aṭlāb* of the text. Cf. *Gloss. daṭ., ṣalab, terrain en jachère*,—here the hard open ground north of the walls.

113 *'Asākir* and *junūd* may be different categories of soldiers.

114 Al-Khazrajī, op. cit., I, 247, calls it *al-Qaṣr al-sa'id*.

115 The identification given Niebuhr (I, 333) in Ṣan'ā' of a gate called Bāb Ṣughayyar (?) with Bāb al-Naṣr seems dubious but not impossible—by its very name a Victory Gate should be imposing, not a Small Gate (Ṣughayyar)!

116 Op. cit., 79-80.

117 Ibid, 203. Al-Hamdanī, *Ṣifah*, 201, says vipers (*afā'ī*) do not harm at Ṣan'ā' 'because of a talisman there was there at Bāb al-Maṣra' '.

118 Ibid, 27.

119 Ibid, 575.

120 Ibid, 204. Kishwar/Kashwar is said to be one of the villages (*qurā*) of Ṣan'ā'. One Ms. reads Bāb Darb al-Kishwarī/al-Kashāwir. As Kishwar is a Persian name and the two gates already mentioned are probably on the north side of Ṣan'ā', the guess may be hazarded that it was part of the southern side of al-Qaṭī' where the Abnā' were settled.

121 Op. cit., 179. *Adāra sūra-hā 'l-Malik al-Agharr . . . bi-'l-ḥajar wa'-l-jiṣṣ.'*

122 The Yemen means 'the south' in contradistinction to al-Shām, 'the north'.

123 Cf. *al-Simṭ al-ghālī*, I, 182.

124 A *mashra'* is defined by al-Akwa', *al-Iklīl I*, 415, as a *mawrid li-'l-mā'*, way to water. The vocalisation of this word is uncertain, and in Ṣan'ānī dialect a *shur'ah* means a *rimmah*, a bad smell—this suggests a dump for rubbish, carcases of animals.

125 'Abd al-Wāsi' b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi'ī, *al-Badr al-muzīl*, Cairo, 1345/1926, 7, names the nine gates of Ṣan'ā' as Bāb al-Yaman, Bāb Khuzaymah, both on the south, Bāb al-Balaqah, south west, Bāb al-Qā', west, Bāb al-Rūm, north west, Bāb al-Shaqādif, north, Bāb Sha'ūb, north, Bāb al-Sitrān, south east, Bāb al-Sabāḥ, west between Bīr al-'Azab and Ṣan'ā'. Bāb Sharārah was the tenth. Bāb al-Sabāḥ was however demolished by the Turks, but they left Bāb Sharārah—people abandoned the old name however and called Bāb Sharārah Bāb al-Sabāḥ.

# Outline Theory of the Growth of Ṣan'ā' till circa the 7th/13th Century

On the basis of the evidence available Ṣan'ā' appears to have undergone its major development in the pre-Islamic age—the assumption that Islam made any immediate radical alteration in the way of promoting or retarding its growth is to be avoided. The fortified Ghumdān *tell*, it may be supposed, protected the Sūq in the low-lying area north and east of it, but of this there is no literary and, as yet, no archaeological evidence. At a later, still ancient but unspecified, time, a fortification was constructed to protect the eastern side of the town, possibly the lower citadel with two out-lying towers on the high ground to the east of that. Ghumdān and its sūqs and the eastern fortification were possibly separated by an intervening space of open ground part of which still remains as Maydān Ṣan'ā'. About the third quarter of the 6th century A.D. Abrahah built the Qalīs to the south of the present-day Maydān in the near vicinity of Qaṣr al-Silāḥ. It seems likely it was built on open ground—there is at least no record of Abrahah having demolished existing structures to create a site for his cathedral. This cathedral gave the name Qaṣr al-Qalīs, for the time being, to the eastern enceinte.

It is conjectured that some pre-Islamic building could have existed before Islam west of Ghumdān. Since the Banū Shihāb were brought in to support himself by Sayf b. Dhī Yazan and, by the second Hijrah century, were in control of al-Sirār Quarter, lying mainly west of Ghumdān, as Arab historians tell us, the probability is that about 575 A.D. they had already begun to settle in this area. As they were basically tribal farmers they may have settled al-Sirār rather thinly—at any rate this may be reflected in the large garden areas there still showing, centuries later, in the Manzoni and von Wissmann maps.

Ghumdān was then the first nodal point in Ṣan'ā', and the Qaṣabah, whether it means the town centre or the fortified eastern enceinte was largely constructed before and/or after Islam from the debris of a great building—more likely a complex of buildings. There must surely have been a sūq associated with Ghumdān—which would likely be Sūq al-Ḥalaqah (discussed on p. 161 seq.) and the Sūqs al-'Arj and al-Ḥaṭabah that at one period may well have been on the edge of the market complex—as also the Sūq al-Baqarah.

The Jāmi' was, early in Islam, constructed in a field[126] belonging to the Abnā' west of and under the shadow of Ghumdān. It is unknown whether this was a space contained by an urban area, if, at this period it extended to the west of Ghumdān, or whether it was built in open ground westward of Ghumdān.[127] It seems more likely that Ghumdān did not constitute the western extremity of Ṣan'ā' town at this period. Was this Jāmi' a new centre to off-set the Qalīs? There are one or two pointers in fact to the site having been associated with pre-Islamic pagan religion. One of these is the persistent reference to al-Ḥajar al-Mulamlamah[128] which still remains today incorporated in the Jāmi' Mosque—suggesting a relic of litholatry—and the absence of any information about it makes one suspect its deliberate suppression. The other is the tradition of the location of grave of the pre-Islamic Prophet Ḥanẓalah b. Ṣafwān on the west side.[129] It may be remarked that the graves of Ḥanẓal and Ḥanẓalah b. Ṣafwān, long tombs, side by side, are also to be seen near Bōr in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt.[130]

## *The Islamic Era*

The main source for the early Islamic history of Ṣan'ā', al-Rāzī, writing in the first half of the 5th/11th century, provides topographical data based on earlier but not infrequently conflicting traditions. As so many of the places he mentions have disappeared without known trace many unsolved puzzles remain.

The governor of Ṣan'ā', appointed by the Caliph 'Uthmān, Ya'lā b. Umayyah,[131] had his houses *(dūr)* along with those of Āl Ya'lā behind the Jāmi' Mosque, to the west of it at the door of the Jāmi' known as Bāb al-Shihābiyyīn.

The governor of the Yemen on behalf of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr, Ma'n b. Zā'idah had a Dār al-Imārah, probably a residence combined with administrative offices, *'fī qiblat Masjid al-Jāmi'*', i.e., north of the Jāmi'—this, Muḥammad al-Akwa'[132] avers, is actually known up to the present time, though it has undergone many changes.

Most famous of all 'Abbāsid governors, al-Barmakī[133] who arrived in Ṣan'ā' in 183/799, built his Dār al-Barāmikah, later known as Dār al-Ḍarb (the Mint), at Sūq al-Tabbānīn, the Straw-sellers' Market. If the latter is to be identified with the present Sūq al-'Arj this would place it somewhat north of the Jāmi' Mosque, but the text places it much further west, at Masjid al-Kharrāz. Dar al-Barāmikah had doors/gates with large arches: it was extensive, and the whole quarter *(nāḥiyah)* consisted of his own house *(dūr)* property. Two arches of Dār al-Ḍarb remained standing until 407/1016-17. It became a *ṣāfiyah*[134] which the ('Abbāsid) governors used to take because there was a *dār* in it and shops *(ḥawānīt)*.

The achievement for which al-Barmakī is most celebrated is the excavation of the Ghayl called after him, though it is possible that this may have incorporated earlier *ghayls*[135]—the historians do not say. Were the course of this and other *ghayls* known for certain, and were there some indication of the dates of their construction more light might be thrown on the early development of Ṣan'ā'. Were some early *ghayls* excavated before or by the Abnā'?

Al-Barmakī's founding (or re-founding) Masjid al-Kharrāz in al-Sirār[136] may indicate a 2nd/8th century expansion or development of this district.

Al-Rāzī[137] alludes to residences of the governors hailing from Iraq and their suites, to the left and right of the Jabbānah, an area also patronised by local merchants and the wealthy. One has the impression of a fashionable banlieue. This, it might well be, gave the name to the market known as Sūq al-'Irāqiyyīn[138] *extra muros* which we propose to locate in the long street that today runs northwards from the Sūq al-Jimāl to Bāb Sha'ūb, quite near the Jabbānah.

By the latter half of the 3rd/9th century Ṣan'ā' was walled. To judge from Ibn Rustah's account the northern wall probably ran a little north of the Sūq area as we know it today, and south of a much more extensive Maydān Ṣan'ā' than that which we now know. As the Jāmi' lay in the vicinity of the southern city wall, the latter most likely extended with its gate, a little north of the present wall, to Qaṣr al-Silāḥ.

Ghumdān continued to be fortified and dismantled until late in the 6th/12th century, and, depending on how Ibn al-Mujāwir's statement is to be interpreted,[139] a huge castle may or may not

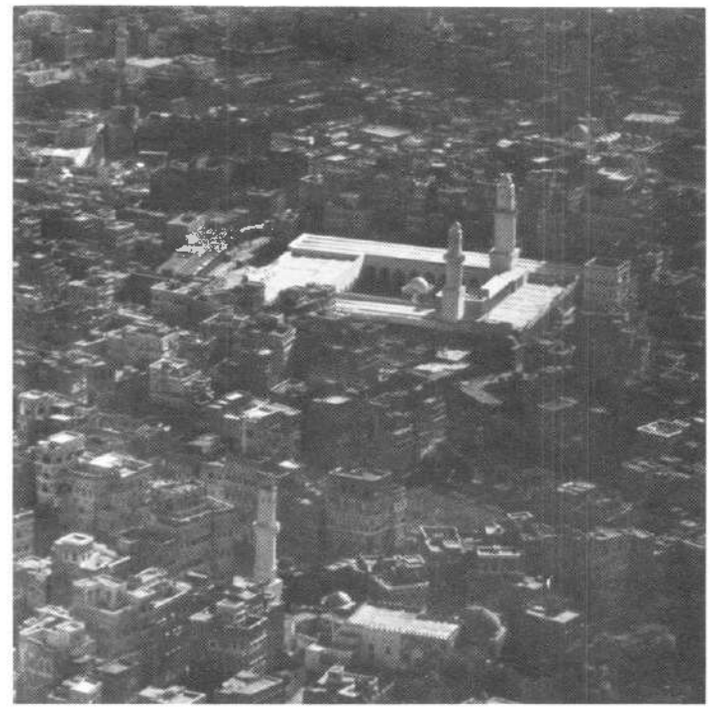
126 As noted (p.461) sunk gardens within the walls were probably often originally clay pits for making bricks.
127 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 70, mentions a Dār al-Ḥawk, or weaving establishment, set up in Busṭān Bādhān on the Mosque site.
128 *Masājid*, 24. It is also called al-Ṣakhrah al-Mulamlamah.
129 Ibid, 30.
130 'Hūd and other pre-Islamic prophets of Ḥadramawt', *Le Muséon*, Louvain, 1954, LXVII, 175.
131 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 165.
132 *Iklīl I*, op. cit., 1, 370.
133 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 106.
134 Cf. p.20a.
135 See Chapter 2.
136 Ibid, 106.
137 Ibid, 91.
138 Ibid, 27 passim. Cf. *Ṣifah* op. cit., 241, the poem of al-Radā'ī on routes. Leaving San'ā', the camels go first by *'Wādī Sha'ūb wa-bi-ha 'l-masīl'* —in it is the flood-course.
139 One cannot but feel that this 'huge castle' is more likely to have been the fortified enceinte on the east (Qaṣr al-Silāḥ) than Ghumdān.

**10.9** The Sūq. Aerial view. The Great Mosque, in the lower left hand corner, and the large *samsarahs* are visible.

have been constructed there in the second decade of the 7th/13th century; but towards the end of the century the eastern Qaṣr had become the seat of the garrison of Ṣan'ā'. It may indeed have assumed a superior military importance to Ghumdān long before that date.

Ibn Rustah's street splitting Ṣan'ā' in two halves may be identified with that commencing at the bridge over the Sā'ilah, running south of Masjid al-Ṭāwūs to Sūq al-Ḥalaqah and Masjid 'Alī.

To try and trace the growth of the city by studying the pattern of the spread of mosques is quite frustrating—many have disappeared entirely and, of those extant, only such dates as those



**10.10** The Great Mosque and the Sūq, seen from the air.

recorded of enlargement and repairs are known. Many have been re-founded with different names. Nevertheless a necklace of mosques encircling the northern boundary of the Sūq includes Masjid al-Shahīdayn, possibly founded about the 2nd/8th century, 'Aqīl (the name suggesting an 'Alī-id founder) which is small, this being an indication of early date, Maḥmūd, believed ancient, and Dāwūd (7th/13th century), near the Cattle Market, in al-Sirār Quarter, just west of the main Sūq. Ibn Yu'fir's 3rd/9th century wall should probably be located just north of them.

Al-Ṭāwūs, named after a 1st/7th century Traditionist, Ṭalḥah, originally small, and believed old, Ma'ād, founded by Ma'ād of Hamdān at an indeterminate date before 900/1494, may indicate the western limit of building even as early as the 3rd/9th century.

On the north east two mosques, al-Akhḍar/Khuḍayr in Zuqāq Abī Maṭar, founded in the 2nd/8th century and the even older Masjid al-Madrasah, founded by a Companion of the Prophet, may originally have been an enclave *extra muros*.

On the north west al-Filayḥī Mosque was founded in 655/1266-67, its founder being buried there. Arguing that a mosque is built to meet the needs of an urban growth, this Quarter should have been developing before that date.

Al-Filayḥī and the adjacent al-Quzālī[140] Quarters were inhabited by Jews as well as Muslims at a date unknown. Jews similarly lived in al-Ṭawāshī Quarter (named after the mosque built there in 1028/1619). It was near an ancient Masjid 'Abbās which is not now known.

Arabic sources consulted do not confirm statements by Jewish sources that Jews were compelled to move from any part of Ṣan'ā' until, of course, the Messianic troubles of the 11th/17th century.[141] Jews are thought to have lived dispersed among Muslims (and, at the early period, Christians also).[142] The presence of the 5th/11th century synagogue in Tinners' Lane of al-Qaṭī' Quarter argues some concentration of Jewish dwellings in its neighbourhood.

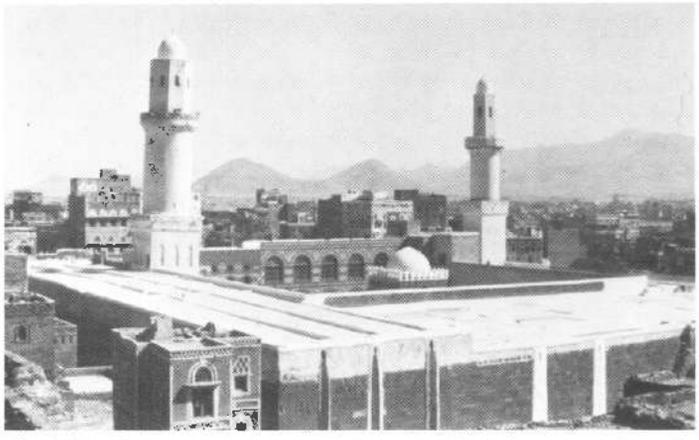
Ṣan'ā' seems to have grown, however sparsely, beyond the Sā'ilah to the west bank by the 3rd/9th century unless the tanners' establishments were outside the city limits. As the Khanādiq, the

140 Al-Quzālī is approximately 200m south west of al-Filayḥī mosque.

141 This is of course negative evidence. Nevertheless the Jewish settlements on the north side of Ṣan'ā' could quite well be due to the growth in numbers of the community or for economic reasons. The theory that they were forced to move from place to place may be a projection into the past of the event of 1679. Goitein (C. Rathjens, *Jewish domestic architecture in San'a, Yemen*, Jerusalem, 1957, 70) mentions a Mōri Joseph al-Qaṭī'ī of a family that must have resided in al-Qaṭī' Quarter—unfortunately dates do not seem to be known.

142 See p.45a seq.

10.11 The Sūq, seen from the air on the western side.



10.12 The Sūq. A view looking south from one of the highest *samsarahs* on the west side of the Sūq; with the Great Mosque in the middle distance.

walls carried on arches over the Sā'ilah on the north and south sides of Ṣan'ā', were demolished in 570/1174 there must, some time previously, have been a north to south wall on the western bank. The road from Bāb al-Sabāḥ running south east and the main road towards the Sā'ilah from Bāb al-Sabāḥ as shown on the von Wissmann map suggest an enclave projecting westwards from the Sā'ilah. Ṭughtakīn's additions may have been to annex Bustān al-Sulṭān to the south side of this enclave by the last years of the 6th/12th century. This at least seems a reasonable working theory.

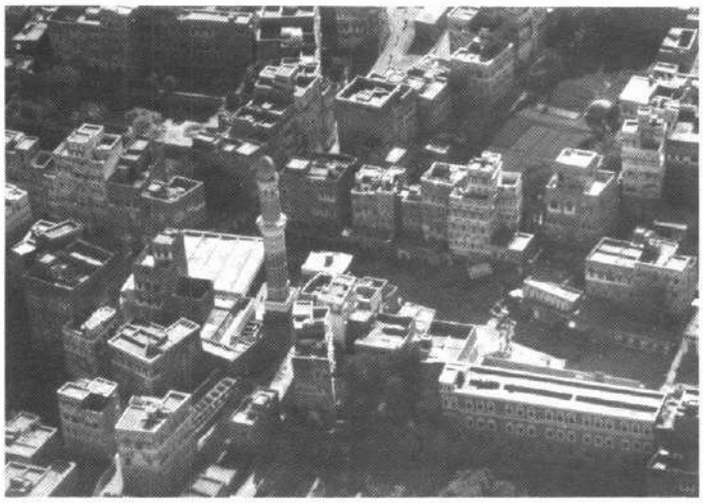
# The Nuqum Flood-course

During the governorship of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf over Ṣan'ā', some years prior to 73/692, 'came the flood (*sayl*) of Birk al-Ghimād/Ghumād[143]—it was a place of assembly (*majma'*) for the Arabs and embassies when they came to Ṣan'ā' to its kings, so that the proverb about it was coined. The Nuqum flood used to flow towards it and it was filled with earth before this date, and it (Birk al-Ghimād) became incorporated with the dwellings and houses of Banu 'l-Walīd. Then a mighty flood came down and destroyed these dwellings, carrying off the goods.'

This flood-course is to be identified with an ancient water-course through the northern part of the city that can still be observed in times of heavy rains. Although its path was interrupted centuries ago by the construction of the north east wall of the city across its bed, in the vicinity of Masjid al-Bakīriyyah, water still flows at such times to a heavy volume both above and beyond the wall.

The catchment area was once the vast north western face of Nuqum whence the rains collect in a wadi which flows past the north corner of the upper citadel of Qaṣr al-Silāḥ and originally entered the city between the lower citadel and al-Bakīriyyah, where the pronounced depression of its channel can still be observed in the outside profile of its wall. Thence the wadi flowed between the modern Maydān al-Qaṣr and Masjid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, past the doorway of the latter, and down into the north eastern corner of Sūq al-Milḥ, where, even today, with only the catchment within the walls, it runs 30cm deep after heavy rains.

143 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 111. This cannot be the place or places in al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 203-4. *Birk*, he defines as stones like those of the *ḥarrah* (laval-tract), difficult, biting each other (*? muta'āḍḍah*) in which it is difficult to walk. Proverbially it is a distant place.



**10.13** Sūq al-Jimāl, the Camel Market, from the air. With the school on bottom right and the mosque of al-Zumur in the centre. The *maydān* on the left leads up to Bāb Sha'ūb.

The stream is diverted around the north edge of the Sūq, and then taken out past Masjid 'Aqīl to Sūq al-Jimāl, then at the side of Masjid al-Zumur and through Bāb Sha'ūb, at which point the flood is sometimes almost a metre deep, to join the Sā'ilah further north.

In this context must be taken the words of al-Rāzī,[144] quoting earlier sources. 'Its (Ṣan'ā') wadi is Sūq al-'Irāqiyyīn, and this place is near half of the town (*balad*)', and, 'this wadi of its is the Sūq, meaning Sūq al-'Irāqiyyīn today—into which flows the flood-water (*sayl*) of the Qaṣabah of Ṣan'ā', the water of al-Qaṣabah coming out to the Sūq al-'Irāqiyyīn.'

We consider there is little doubt that, here, al-Rāzī must mean by al-Qaṣabah, the lower citadel, and the wadi containing the Sūq al-'Irāqiyyīn is the present day Sūq al-Jimāl, as stated above, running down to the present-day Bāb Sha'ūb.

The catchment of Nuqum is now diverted away, outside the city wall, to join the other stream outside Bāb Sha'ūb. It is not impossible that the course has been substantially diverted within the city. Nowadays the flood would have to reach considerable heights and flood the Sūq before it would spill over to flood the Jāmi' Mosque at a lower level. The Jāmi' was flooded in 265/878-9 but there is no indication known to us whence the flooding came.

Qāḍī 'Alī Abu 'l-Rijāl expressed the opinion that originally this wadi flowed past al-Filayḥī Mosque, to join the Sā'ilah to the west.

The suggestion may be hazarded that Bāb al-Shar'ah of Ibn al-Mujāwir above, might be the gate through which the Nuqum flood-water entered Ṣan'ā'.

# Ṣan'ā' Population in the Early Islamic Period

Ṣan'ā' population fluctuated considerably owing to such causes as drought, famine, plague, the frequent wars and doubtless administrative or economic factors.

Al-Hamdānī[145] states that in the Islamic period the city gradually grew till after 290/903, then became ruined/depopulated (*kharibat*) but soon recovered and 'today is almost as it was and is increasing'. In the first half of the 5th/11th century it was in a ruinous state.[146]

Al-Rāzī[147] gives some absurd statistics for the period before its destruction (often repeated by later authors), of 120,000 houses and in al-Qaṭī' alone, a Quarter of Ṣan'ā', there were 70,000 *miskins*.[148] These are supposed to be the statistics about the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, and the figures dropped owing to the Qarmaṭī occupation and other wars. He quotes inconsistently with the above, another figure of 1,000 houses for al-Qaṭī' which if it was a Quarter of Ṣan'ā', would give a total for the city of 4,000 houses. If the arbitrary figure of ten persons per house is assumed, this would give a population of 40,000 persons—which is reasonable but guesswork.

In As'ad al-Yu'firī's time (286-88/899-901) the impossible figure of 30,000 houses is quoted. This might be a possible figure for the population. A census of houses purported to have been made some time after 345/956 gives the still impossible figure of 14,000. Another conflicting figure given by al-Rāzī for some period after 344/955 is 6,500 houses, perhaps a little high, but credible.

Statistics given for 353/964 seem to show a heavy drop in population to a very low level. A census records 1,040 houses (*dār*) of which 35 belonged to the Jews. During the interval 344-65/955-75, 74 houses of *dūr al-nuzūl*,[149] thirteen baths (*ḥammām*) and an uncounted number of mosques and *siqāyahs* had been destroyed. When the shops (*ḥawānīt*), both those flourishing and those that had been destroyed, were counted they amounted to 700 but many were in ruins, there were 106 mosques still in use, 12 baths, 54 sesame presses and 33 mills (*maṭāḥin*) for red blossom of the *dawm*-palm (*firḍ*) with which hides and skins are tanned.

# The Ottoman City

The first Turkish occupation lasted ninety years, beginning in 946/1539. Although Pedro Paez[150] commented in ca. 1000/1590 that the city declined after the Turks had taken it, it does not seem from the amount of new building work datable to this time that this decline can have persisted very long.

The city walls were twelve feet thick, made of clay and 'to outward shewe as fair as a stone wall'.[151] At the lowest levels there was a plinth of 'hard grey stone'.[152] Near the city gates the walls were built to full height of 'bluish stone'.[153] On the inside there was a continuous plinth of stone and gypsum to a man's height.[154] Small round (semicircular?) towers projected from the wall as bastions at roughly forty metre intervals; some of them were battlemented,[155] and some were entirely built of stone.[156] The clay walls had to be repaired annually after the seasonal rains.

At this period the Turkish governor appears to have lived in the citadel.[157] Near it, in 1005/1597, the governor Ḥasan Pasha erected the great domed mosque al-Bakīriyyah. He is reputed to have laid out a fine wide street as a setting for his mosque, which was lined with trees throughout its length, from the gate of the citadel to Bāb Sha'ūb. The open square in front of the citadel gate is also said to have been formalized at this time, and Ḥasan Pasha built Ḥammām al-Bakīriyyah (Ḥammām al-Maydān) on it as a *waqf* to support his mosque. The area of these urban improve-

144 Op. cit., 105.
145 *Al-Iklīl VIII*, op. cit., 7.
146 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 18.
147 Ibid, 111-15. For *miskīn* (poor) Zabārah, quoting the passage, reads *maskan* (dwelling).
148 Dwellings? It is possible *samsarahs* might be intended but this would be a high figure for them.
149 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, Cairo, 1359 H., 16, quoting *Munajjam al-'umrān fi 'l-mustadrak 'alā Mu'jam al-buldān.*
150 See p.108a.
151 J. Jourdain, 1018/1609. See p.108b.
152 Pieter van den Broecke, 1026/1616. See p.109a.
153 Ibid, and Green. See p.109a.
154 Green. See p.109a.
155 J. Jourdain, 1018/1609.
156 W. B. Harris. *Journey through Yemen.* London, 1895, 300.
157 Pieter van den Broeck, 1025/1616. Niebuhr mentions that in his day, the mid-12th/18th century, there were still two palaces in the citadel in which several princes of the royal blood resided. (Heron trans. I, 376).

**10.14** The wall of the old city crossing the Sā'ilah, flood course.

**10.15** Panorama of the south side of the city at Bāb al-Yaman. From a photograph taken about 1930.

ments became the fashionable Ottoman quarter in the city.[158]

The western end of the city was still largely open gardens and orchards, although contained within the walls.[159] There, 'the principal people have their gardens, orchards, and kiosks or pleasure houses.'[160]

The Turks favoured Bīr al-'Azab and Bīr al-Shams to the west of the walls for their country houses.[161]

In 987/1581-2 there was a great flood in the Sā'ilah. It destroyed the buildings and gardens around and beyond the southern Khandaq, the floodgate through the city wall. It also destroyed many houses flanking the wadi bed within the city.[162]

In 1029/1619-20 there was another damaging flood in the Sā'ilah which finally destroyed the ancient arches of the northern Khandaq, partly ruined in 601/1204-5. As a result the governor ordered the widening of the wadi bed; subsequently the southern and northern Khandaqs were rebuilt to accommodate the new dimensions of the wadi.[163]

The Turks built a large barrack building in Ṣan'ā', which seems to have been that south of Bāb al-Yaman which was demolished in the second Turkish occupation, but its location is not known for certain.[164]

158 Al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā Sālim, verbal communication.
159 Sir Henry Middleton, 1020/1611. See p. 108b.
160 Ibid.
161 Al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā Sālim, verbal communication.
162 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 756.
163 Ibid, I, 388.

# The City During the Second Zaydī Dynasty

The Turks withdrew from the Yemen in 1040/1630; Ṣan'ā' once more became the seat of an independent Zaydī Imām.

There now began a period of prosperity for the city which lasted for nearly two centuries; it is well attested by the quality and quantity of buildings erected during this time.

Considerable damage was done, however, by a flood which came down the Sā'ilah ca. 1085/1674-5, destroying the southern *Khandaq*.[165]

In 1090/1679 the Jews were expelled from the old city. After a temporary sojourn in the Tihāmah they were permitted to return to Ṣan'ā', but not to the old city. Instead they were allowed to build a Jewish quarter on the western side of Bīr al-'Azab next to a village which appears to have been in existence before this time, al-Bawniyah; the new quarter became known as Qā' al-Yahūd. It soon had its own sūq and fourteen synagogues, as well as houses 'as handsome as the best in Ṣan'ā''.[166]

An important new palace was built in a garden on the western side of the city, surrounded by its own defensive wall; it appears to have been erected by Imām al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim, who came to the throne in 1120/1708,[167] but it is possible that it dates from the preceding century. This palace, known as the Mutawakkil Palace, from the traditional title of the Imām, al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh, had at its centre a tall square block. At the beginning of the 13th/19th century another palace was built there,[168] the new building being that shown in the centre of Cruttenden's drawing made in 1252/1836 (p. 111).

Between the wall of the palace and enclosure and the city wall lay an open parade ground, closed by gates at the ends, that on the north called Bab Soghair (Shaqādīf?) and that at the south Bāb

164 Cf. R. Manzoni, *El Yémen*, Rome, 1884, 120.
165 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī al-Wazīr, *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 105b.
166 Niebuhr, op. cit., I, 379.
167 Niebuhr, op. cit., I, 375.
168 U. J. Seetzen in *Monatliche Correspondenz* of Baron von Zach, Gotha, 1813, 181.

Intibāh.[169] Beyond the last gate a wide space was enclosed outside the ancient Bāb al-Sabāḥ, the western gate of the city. In this square were erected, before 1139/1726-7, the public baths of al-Mutawakkil and the tomb of Imām al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim.

In 1175/1761 the Imām ordered the destruction of all the synagogues and of all storeys on Jewish houses higher than nine metres above ground level.[170]

The synagogues were afterwards rebuilt,[171] but the Jews henceforth observed the edict that their houses should remain low. At the beginning of the 13th/19th century walls were built around Bīr al-'Azab and al-Qā'.[172] The old Bāb al-Sabāḥ remained, but a new western gate, Bāb al-Sharārah, was built on the other side of the Maydān al-Mutawakkil,[173] which now became completely enclosed by walls (cf. pl. 12).

Two other gates gave access to the Maydān. Bāb al-Intibāh on the north opened into the parade ground in front of the palace. On the northern end of this space another gate, Bāb al-Shaqādīf, gave access to the countryside. On the eastern side of the Maydān the ancient screen walls of Bāb al-Sabāḥ were complemented by a new screen wall which had the effect of creating a separate forecourt to the gate. It was in this forecourt that Bāb al-Intibāh was situated. On the southern side of the Maydān, just beyond the forecourt, Bāb al-Khuzaymah opened to the southern cemeteries and the countryside.[174]

In the new walls around Bīr al-'Azab and al-Qā'there were six gates. Bāb al-Nizayīī and Bab al-Balaqah opened to the south, Bāb Qā' al-Yahūd and Bāb al-Abīlah to the west, and Bāb al-Rūm and Bāb al-Shīari (sic) to the north.

Within Bīr al-'Azab there was a subsidiary walled area on the southern side, Bīr al-Bahmah, entered through a gate within Bīr al-'Azab (see map, p.118).

There were three open squares inside the new walls. Between Qā' al-Yahūd and the rest of the area was a long public space known as Ṣulbī Qā' al-Yahūd;[175] and inside Bāb al-Rūm and Bāb al-Sharārah there were wide parade grounds (pl. 10.20). Parts of all three remain to this day.

There were also wide open spaces in the old city which have since been built over. In particular the area between al-Filayḥī and the northern edge of the sūq was an open *maydān*, following the line of the ancient wadi-bed (cf. pl. 12).

In 1225/1810, Ṣan'ā' still seemed to a visiting German 'the finest city I have seen in the Orient. . . even Constantinople would not be excepted if it were not for its mosques',[176] and in 1252/1836 Cruttenden still speaks of the city with unstinted admiration, in spite of the brief sacking by tribesmen it had received in 1234/1835;[177] 'the houses are large, and the windows of those of the higher classes are of beautiful stained glass.' Many of the mosques had their 'domes gilt, particularly those with tombs of Imams'.[178]

The city was extensively sacked in 1268/1851, and again in 1270/1853.[179] When Stern saw it in 1275/1858 he described Bīr al-'Azab as 'a large tract of waste land, varied by cemeteries and fragments of former dwellings'.[180] Even allowing for exaggeration, his impression is shared by other mid-13th/19th century travellers: 'Now half-ruined. There are hardly any inhabitants in Bīr 'Azab . . . Three-quarters of Bīr 'Azab ruined . . . Public buildings like the mint were demolished by people looking for gold.'[181] In 1287/1870 Halévy wrote 'the Imam's authority does not extend outside Ṣan'ā' and Sha'ūb has been sacked.'[182] The village of Sha'ūb lay at the northern gate of the city.

Halévy also reported that, although the underground channel called al-Ghayl al-Aswad continued to flow, Ghayl al-Barmakī had dried up.[183]

# The City During the Second Ottoman Occupation: Statistics

In 1289/1872 a Turkish Governor-General once more entered Ṣan'ā' and the city became the centre of administration of the Yemen by the Porte until the final withdrawal of Turkish control after the Armistice of 1337/1918.

The Turks did not do a great deal to improve the city, being often engaged in quelling revolutions and repelling attacks by tribesmen on Ṣan'ā' itself.[184]

Reports of conditions in Ṣan'ā' in the first fifteen years of the Turkish occupation speak of the decayed state of the city, and of the greatly reduced population, as little as 20,000 according to Millingen in 1291/1874, and 23,000-24,000 according to Manzoni ca. 1296/1878.[185] But later the population recovered. F. T. Haig[186] (1887) estimated the Ṣan'ā' population at about 35,000, but asserts it was once several times as much, judging by the ample spaces and masses of ruins. The Jews numbered approximately 5,200 and there were about 60 Christians, mostly Greeks.

The Turkish *sālnāmahs* are obviously not very accurate either:[187]

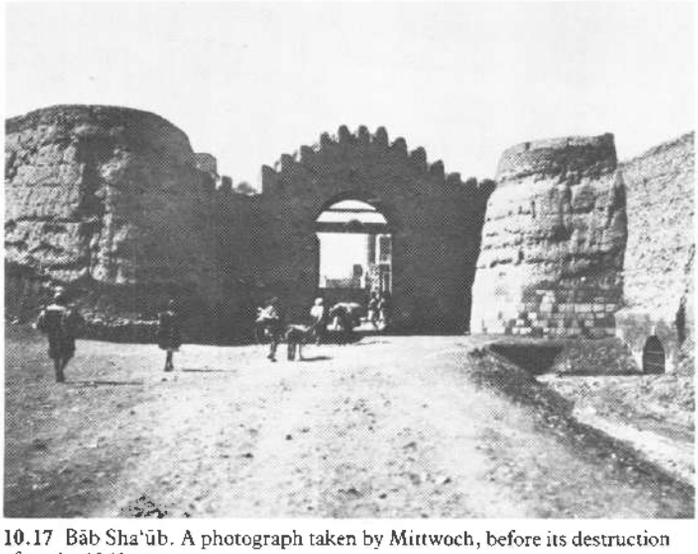
| Date | Population | Muslim males | Households | Household size |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1298/1880 | 24,000 | 22,000 | 5,000 | 4.40 |
| 1305/1887-88 | 27,500 | 25,000 | 5,000 | 5.00 |
| 1311/1893-94 | 27,500 | 25,000 | 8,000 | 3.12 |

These statements conflict but, as McCarthy points out, 'it is slightly more likely that, due to the approximate nature of these statistics, the later number would be more correct.' He suggests that the average Ṣan'ā' household would be between six to seven members (male and female).

Zwemer and Burchardt both thought it had increased to at least 50,000 before the great siege of the city by tribesmen in 1322/1904 drove many inhabitants away again.[188] All informants tend to agree that the Jewish population constituted about 1/5 of the total, and the Turkish garrison less than 1/10. Zwemer and Harris both stressed how flourishing the town had become by 1309-11/1891-93.[189] The gateway of Bāb al-Sabāḥ was removed by the Turks, the name being transferred to Bāb al-Sharārah further west.[190] Zabārah,[191] for the early part of the 14th century H.

169 Niebuhr. Plan of Ṣan'ā'. The plan is extremely inaccurate; it was presumably drawn from memory long after Niebuhr left the city. The position of the gate names is confused on the map, but from later evidence these appear to have been the names used in Niebuhr's day (see below). In fact, the northern gate is also marked both Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb Intabāh, whereas the southern gate is marked with the name Bāb Ḥadid. Bāb al-Sabāḥ is shown between 'Bab Sogair' and Bāb Ḥadid, but no opening is shown for it.
170 Niebhur, op. cit., I, 379, but see p.418.
171 A. A. Isaacs, *Biography of H. A. Stern*, London, 1886, 114, says there were eighteen in 1275/1858.
172 Cf. Cruttenden, in *GJ*, VIII. See p.111a. Manzoni, op. cit., 127, made their circuit 6494m.
173 *Al-Badr al-muzīl*, 7.
174 Manzoni, op. cit., 104.
175 ibid, 127.
176 U. J. Seetzen, op. cit., 180.
177 J. Halevy, 'Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen', *Journal Asiatique*, 1872, 16.
178 Cruttenden, op. cit., see p.111a.
179 Halevy, op. cit., 16.
180 H.A. Stern, op. cit., 122. See p. 112a.
181 Halévy, op. cit., 16, writing of his visit in 1869. See p.112a.
182 Ibid, 17.
183 Ibid, 21. Al-Ghayl al-Aswad continued a strong stream until 1392/1972.
184 See p.99a-b.
185 Millingen, 'notes on a Journey in Yemen'. (*GF*, 1874, but see page.112b; Manzoni, op. cit., 129.
186 F. T. Haig, 'Report of a journey to the Red Sea ports, Somaliland and southern and eastern Arabia', *Church Missionary Society* reprint, London, 1887.
187 Justin McCarthy, 'Ottoman sources on Arabian population', Paper delivered at the First International Symposium on Studies in the History of Arabia, University of Riyadh, 1977.
188 S. M. Zwemer, *Zigzag Journeys*, New York, 1912, 40; H. Burchardt, 'Reise durch Südarabien', *ZGEB*, Leipzig, 1902, 593 seq. Cf. p.95.
189 Op. cit. and W. B. Harris, op. cit., 107.
190 *Al-Badr al-muzil*, 7.
191 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 16.

**10.16** Panorama of the north side of the city showing the city wall. From a photograph taken in the early part of this century.



**10.17** Bāb Sha'ūb. A photograph taken by Mittwoch, before its destruction after the 1962 coup.

(commencing in 1882), quotes the figures 5,000 houses, 50,000 inhabitants, 30 mosques and 20 baths.

In 1972 there were reckoned to be 16,662 houses in Ṣan'ā'. Of these 4,730 were over 50 years old and 1417 between 25-29 years old—i.e., by the last year or so of Imām Yaḥyā's reign the number of houses is calculated at 6,247 and the growth since 1918 was reckoned at 1.3 per cent, while in the period up to the coup of 1962 growth was at the rate 2.4 per cent.[192] These statistics however give an erroneous picture as they do not take into account houses demolished and rebuilt—of which there are many.

A rough estimate—it is little better than a guess—would be that the population fluctuated between 30,000 to 50,000 persons in times of maximum security and prosperity, but it might drop well below the lower figure after a plague or famine.

In 1295/1878 enormous floods did great damage to the city, more than 100 houses being ruined.[193]

The barracks built in the First Turkish Occupation were also destroyed in 1295/1878. In 1305/1887 large new barrack buildings were being built outside the city, on either side of the road south of Bāb al-Yaman.[194] A military hospital had already been bult by then.

The fortifications of the city were further improved by the construction at regular intervals of towers, a 'few hundred yards outside the walls, somewhat resembling martello towers'.[195] Most of them were doubtless destroyed in the siege of 1322/1904 but several fine *nawbahs* of grey stone near the city may be identified with these towers.

One of the first acts of the Turks was to restore the mosque of al-Bakīriyyah,[196] and the tree-lined road between the citadel, the mosque of al-Bakīriyyah and Bāb Sha'ūb again became the centre of the fashionable quarter of the town; it was here that the foreign rulers had their shops and cafés, as well as the new Military Academy, two civilian schools and an Industrial School.[197]

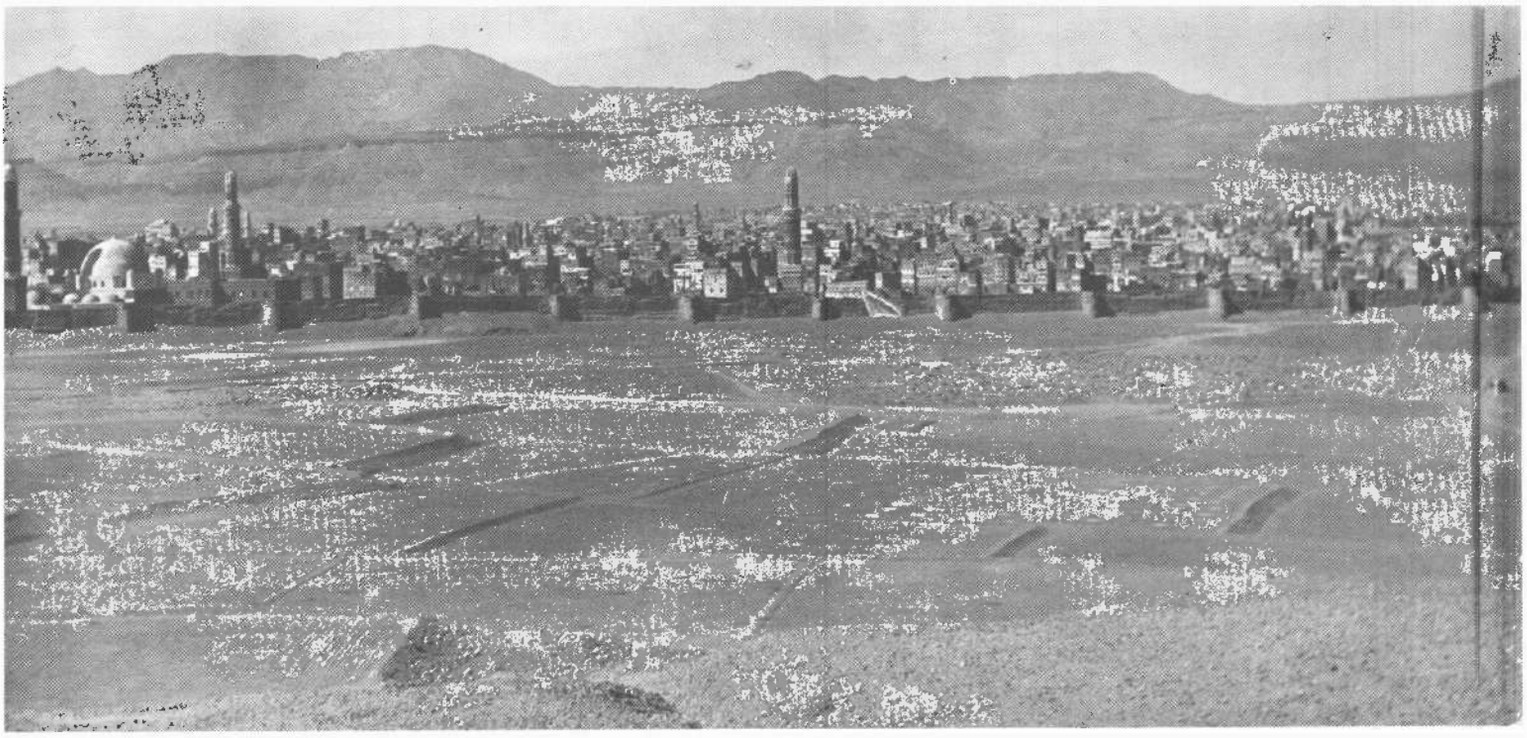
Bīr al-'Azab once more achieved its earlier importance as a residential suburb. 'Here reside the Wālī and most of the senior officers.'[198]

After the prolonged siege by tribesmen in 1322/1904 the walls of the city were severely damaged, in some places being reduced to ground level.[199]

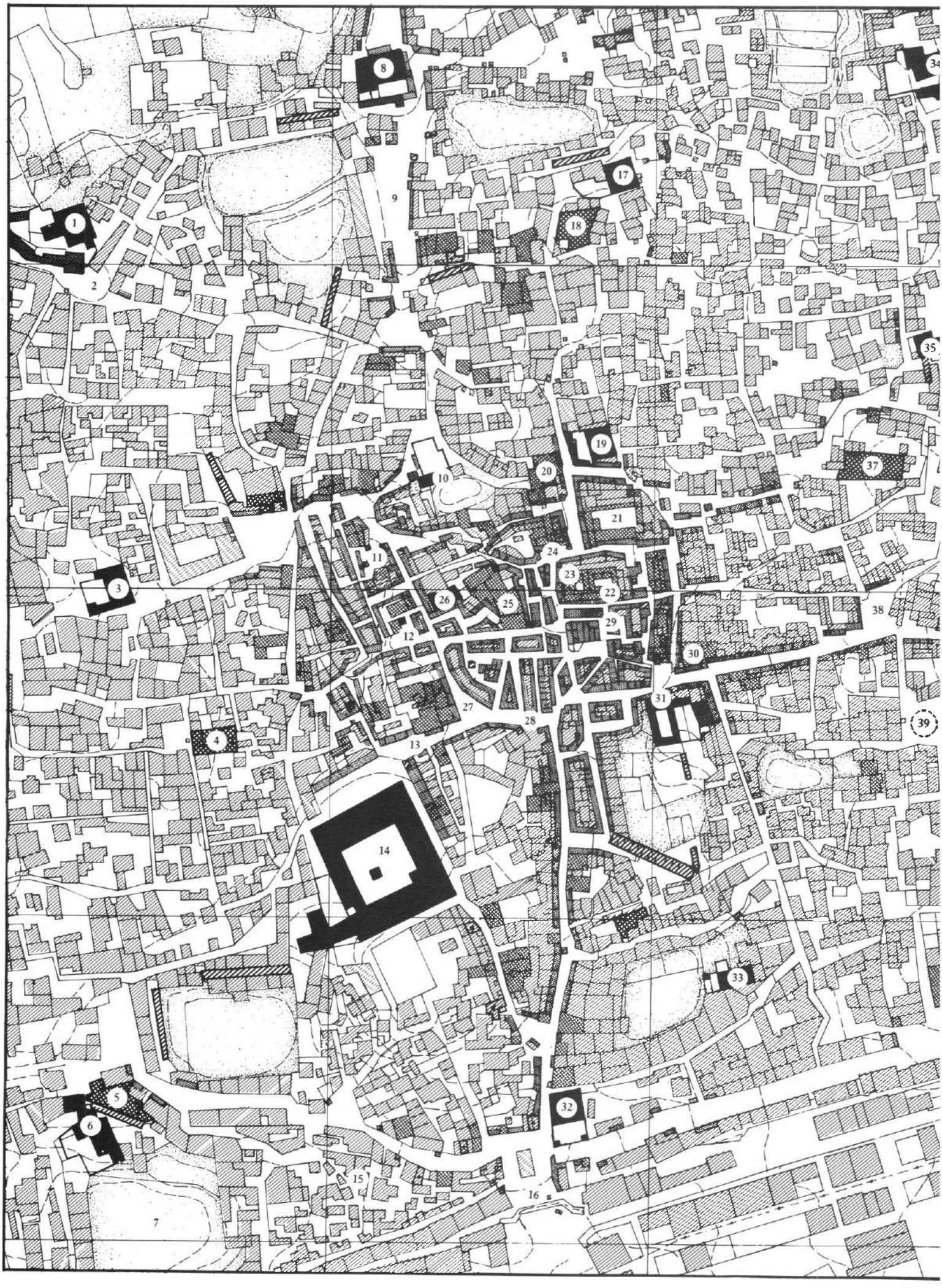
'Before the siege there were some 70,000 inhabitants, now the number was reduced to 20,000' wrote Herbert, an eye-witness in 1905. Although Ṣan'ā' eventually recovered its prosperity, and the walls were rebuilt, another intensive siege by Imām Yaḥyā in 1329/1911 did widespread damage.

The gateway of Bāb al-Yaman was afterwards rebuilt in brick and stone to a new design by a Turkish military engineer, together with a stretch of the wall on either side of it.

192 Ḥusayn al-'Amrī, note to al-Rāzī, op. cit., 114-15.
193 Manzoni, op. cit., 392.
194 Haig, op. cit., 474 seq.
195 Harris, op. cit., 301.
196 A. J. B. Wavell. *A modern pilgrim in Mecca,* London, 1912, 244.
197 Ibid, 242; Burchardt, op. cit., 593 seq.
198 Wavell, 243.
199 A. Herbert, *Ben Kendim,* London, 1924.



**10.18** The wall of the old city of the southern side near Bāb al-Yaman photographed in 1974.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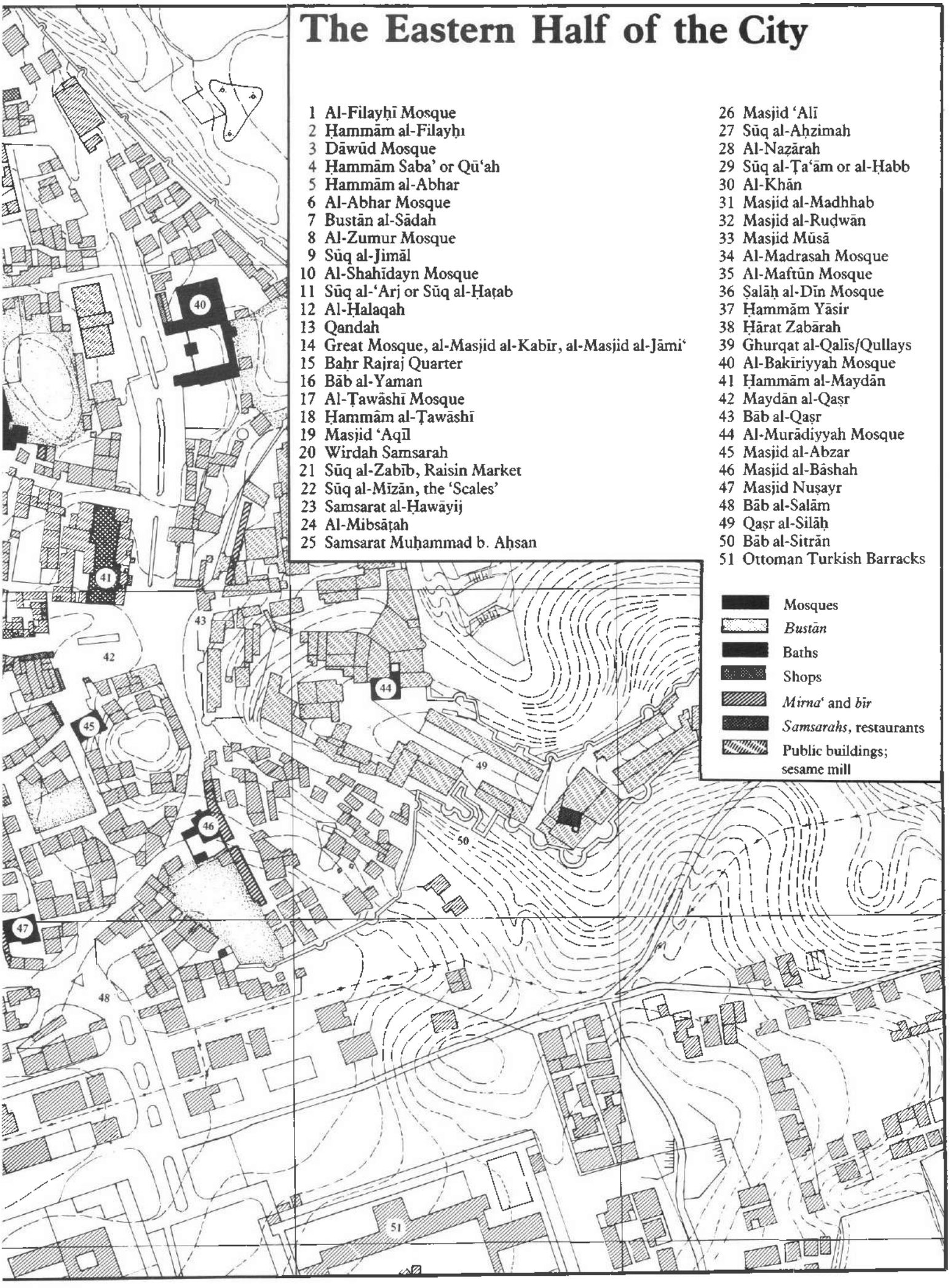
# The Eastern Half of the City



1 Al-Filayḥī Mosque
2 Ḥammām al-Filayḥı
3 Dāwūd Mosque
4 Ḥammām Saba' or Qū'ah
5 Hammām al-Abhar
6 Al-Abhar Mosque
7 Bustān al-Sādah
8 Al-Zumur Mosque
9 Sūq al-Jimāl
10 Al-Shahīdayn Mosque
11 Sūq al-'Arj or Sūq al-Ḥaṭab
12 Al-Ḥalaqah
13 Qandah
14 Great Mosque, al-Masjid al-Kabīr, al-Masjid al-Jāmi'
15 Baḥr Rajraj Quarter
16 Bāb al-Yaman
17 Al-Ṭawāshī Mosque
18 Ḥammām al-Ṭawāshī
19 Masjid 'Aqīl
20 Wirdah Samsarah
21 Sūq al-Zabīb, Raisin Market
22 Sūq al-Mīzān, the 'Scales'
23 Samsarat al-Ḥawāyij
24 Al-Mibsāṭah
25 Samsarat Muḥammad b. Aḥsan
26 Masjid 'Alī
27 Sūq al-Aḥzimah
28 Al-Naẓārah
29 Sūq al-Ṭa'ām or al-Ḥabb
30 Al-Khān
31 Masjid al-Madhhab
32 Masjid al-Ruḍwān
33 Masjid Mūsā
34 Al-Madrasah Mosque
35 Al-Maftūn Mosque
36 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mosque
37 Ḥammām Yāsir
38 Ḥārat Zabārah
39 Ghurqat al-Qalīs/Qullays
40 Al-Bakīriyyah Mosque
41 Ḥammām al-Maydān
42 Maydān al-Qaṣr
43 Bāb al-Qaṣr
44 Al-Murādiyyah Mosque
45 Masjid al-Abzar
46 Masjid al-Bāshah
47 Masjid Nuṣayr
48 Bāb al-Salām
49 Qaṣr al-Silāḥ
50 Bāb al-Sitrān
51 Ottoman Turkish Barracks

Mosques
*Bustān*
Baths
Shops
*Mirna'* and *bir*
*Samsarahs*, restaurants
Public buildings; sesame mill